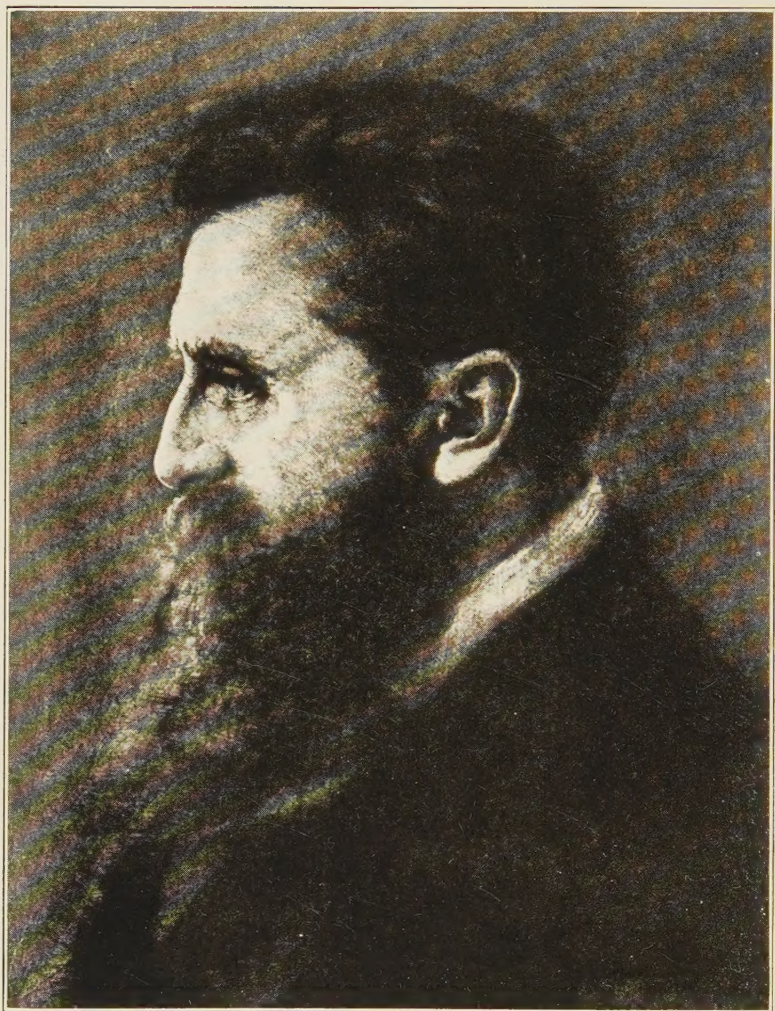


Theodor Herzl



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THEODOR HERZL.

From a painting by Herman Struck, generally referred to as "The Last Phase."

THEODOR HERZL

A Biographical Study

WITH SIXTY ILLUSTRATIONS, INDEX,
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, APPENDICES AND
BIBLIOGRAPHY

By
JACOB de HAAS

VOLUME TWO



THE LEONARD COMPANY
CHICAGO NEW YORK
1927

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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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THEODOR HERZL

CHAPTER XIII.

AN HOUR OF TRIUMPH

The Grand Duke of Baden discusses international politics—London greets Herzl as a victor—Appeals for monetary aid—American Jews cold—Letters to the Sultan—Differences with Wolffsohn—Fifth Congress—Zangwill becomes Zionist—Development of Zionist factions.

EVEN an erroneous report could not destroy the importance of such an event as an audience with the Sultan of Turkey, whose extravagant notions of his power following the defeat of the Greeks and the visit of the German Emperor were common newspaper talk. A monarch who was excoriated but feared had talked with Herzl the Zionist leader! Herzl's simple statement given out in Constantinople was effective:

"... I had the honor to be received in audience by the Sultan last Friday, after the ceremony of the Selamlık. His Majesty gave me a reception which could not have been more cordial. I have acquired the conviction that the Jews in the whole world have no better friend than Sultan Abdul Hamid. The audience lasted more than two hours. His Majesty conferred on me the Grand Cordon of the Order of the Medjidie and as a souvenir gave me a scarf pin set in brilliants. I am leaving Constantinople thoroughly satisfied with the result of my journey."

"Grand Cordon!" The highest gift the Sultan could bestow. The implications were endless. Zionists as well as anti-Zionists leaped to conclusions. Herzl had se-

cured his "charter." The English antis asked plaintively, "What will he do with it?"

Dr. Gaster voiced the Zionist sense of triumph:

"Not one man in a thousand had five years ago thought that it was within the bounds of possibility that men would be able to address Emperor and Sultan as representing the Jewish people. . . . The opposition seems ready to forget that it has opposed. . . . Dreams have been realized, and earnest efforts have yielded their expected results."¹

"Impractical," and "impossible," the catch words of opposition suddenly disappeared. Constantinople journals reported that "the Sultan was greatly impressed with the personality of the Zionist leader, and Dr. Herzl is now persona grata at Yildiz Kiosk." And the London *Jewish Chronicle* agreed, "The personal honors accorded to Dr. Herzl by the Sultan will be accepted as evidence that His Majesty is not disinclined to welcome the Zionists as potential helpers in redeeming part of his dominions from the 'dust of ages.'" A supreme moment of satisfaction.

After a brief stay in Vienna, Herzl proceeded to England. But he made several stops en route. First he visited the Grand Duke of Baden. He too was impressed with the Grand Cordon, and he began by telling Herzl that he had always advised him to get into direct contact with the Sultan.

"Parbleu! I thought to myself."

The Grand Duke proffered a new explanation of the Emperor's failure to intervene with the Sultan. Germany was afraid of being compromised by the attacks of Jews who might regard her pro-Zionism as implying

¹Address at Conference of English Zionist Federation, London, May 26, 1901.

that she wished to be rid of them, and she also feared that the anti-Semites, by putting the same construction on her motives, would regard the government as in alliance with them in yelling "Juden 'raus."

Herzl expressed his own interpretation of Germany's conduct.

"The mistrust and jealousy of the other powers would have been aroused to the limit if Germany declared herself protector of the Zionist movement. I understood this so well that I never fluttered an eyelash when, in 1898, the promised Protectorate came to nothing. And yet it was a serious blow. Many, who had rallied to us, withdrew, when nothing resulted from the magnificently spectacular reception in Jerusalem. I needed much firmness to withstand those attacks. . . . It was said that everything depending on German good-will was a swindle. I remained silent and permitted myself to be shot at. And this reaction decreased our propaganda resources."

Russia he feared might come between the cup and the lip of his amorphous negotiations with the Sultan.

The Grand Duke thought "Russia has other preoccupations. Her East Asian difficulties are greater than was anticipated." The Balkans also provided Russia with worries. Serbia might desire to swallow Montenegro. Russia's interest in Palestine would be religious. By making Jerusalem "extra commercium," this problem would be solved.

Herzl pressed for aid in obtaining an interview with the Czar. The Grand Duke of Baden hesitatingly proposed that he might be able to influence the Grand Duke Constantine. Herzl believed one had to know how "to eat cherries with princes." He wanted to meet the Czar "as a symbolic act of good will. For my part he may permit me to tell him stories about the Paris Theatre. I need this audience so that the Sultan shall not

become nervously fearful that in dealing with us he will arouse the opposition of Russia. I want no aid from Russia—on the contrary! For then we would come under its terrible hand. I want no decision from the Czar. I would be much happier if after he has listened to me, he gradually forgets it as uninteresting. All I seek is to tranquilize the Sultan.”

The Grand Duke was impressed by the progress Herzl had made in Constantinople, but the German anti-Zionists practically ignored the incident. They believed Herzl was preparing a *coup de theatre* for the next congress—nothing more.

In the meantime the eight members of the Russian delegation which went to Paris to argue with Baron Edmond de Rothschild and the Jewish Colonization Association over the management of the Palestine colonies had arrived there. They had split into two factions holding diverse views as to what should be done for the Palestine colonists. All they could agree upon was that a commission should proceed to Palestine and investigate the methods of the administration. To this proposal the Jewish Colonization Association leaders would not agree. The political Zionists had abstained from joining the delegation and the Russian “Lovers of Zion” returned home without having even registered their protest. Their failure was powder for ammunition in Zangwill’s campaign against the Association.

When Herzl arrived in Paris he learned of their unsuccessful “begging,” and also that Tschlenow, Ussischkin, Bernstein-Kohann and Barbasch, who were members of the delegation, had been cool to his Constantinople achievement. His contempt found expression in his diary:

"Once the Jewish State is established . . . perhaps a righteous historian will decide that something was achieved at a time when, the highest form of anti-Semitism having brought the Jews to the lowest pass, a powerless Jewish journalist made a flag out of a rag, and out of a sunken mob created a people to guard that flag. But all this, and an aptitude for negotiations with powers and princes are nothing."

The answer these men might have truthfully made was that they were "Lovers of Zion" who under the force of public pressure were in the political Zionist movement and that they envied those "Lovers of Zion" in Germany and England who had refused to attend the first Congress and had kept aloof from Herzl. But he was not thinking of these fine differences. He was in Paris in hopes that Benno Reitlinger would aid him to raise the capital he needed in order to do business with Turkey.

And on this score he had a "bad quarter of an hour" with Nordau who had acknowledged that his audience with the Sultan was a fact of "world-historic importance," but who regarded Herzl's financial discussions as a great mistake. Nordau expected no support from either the Rothschilds or the Jewish Colonization Association. He deplored the fact that Herzl, whom he loved, should be open to the charge that the leader had made idle promises to the Sultan. Herzl's imagination permitted him to explain that he could return to the Sultan and ask for "guarantees for the charter in advance of a loan." Nordau held this policy unwise and dangerous. Twelve years later Nordau wrote the author about this incident, as sharply and as critically as though it had happened the day before. There was a marked contrast between these life-long associates. Nordau was fiery in words

and cautious in action. Herzl was audacity itself in action; all his caution was in public utterance. He knew he was trying to conjure a financial rabbit out of a silk hat—that is why his setbacks pained him less than other matters. But he was convinced Turkey was Alice's Wonderland—the magic hat out of which he might conjure Palestine.

Besides, then and for long after, he believed that Benno Reitlinger, a French Jewish millionaire interested in engineering, would finance the conversion of the Turkish debt. Reitlinger seems to have been interested in the specific problem and even suggested various plans for effecting this, but did not act. Moreover Herzl had made no definite commitments to the Sultan, and his problem was to create conditions favorable to his purpose. There was also the possibility of interesting Rothschild or someone else. Sir Francis Montefiore had once mentioned the Pereires as financiers opposing the Rothschilds; so he called Sir Francis to Paris. "My brave English boys immediately rallied to the flag." Sir Francis came, but he was not personally acquainted with the Pereires. With Vambery, Herzl proceeded to London, after despatching the following letter to the Sultan.

"Obedient to the desire of Your Imperial Majesty, I have started to work immediately.

"I am happy to be able to announce today that things are progressing well.

"The attitude of my friends permits me to hope that I shall be able to submit precise propositions to Your Imperial Majesty during the course of the present month. But I must not pass over in silence that there are also Jews who do not share my views.

"Your Imperial Majesty in his great wisdom will easily

untangle the question: Whom, and what interests, do these people obey? It has therefore seemed opportune to me, before all else, to create a current of opinion favorable to the general project, to aid Ottoman finances. To this end I shall deliver an address next week in London, in a Jewish club of which I am an honorary member, and which offers me a banquet. It is known in London as elsewhere that I am not pursuing my personal interest, and for this simple reason I believe that my words will be effective.

"Perhaps the enemies, Jewish and non-Jewish, of the prosperity of the Ottoman Empire will also seize this occasion to fall upon me—but with the help of God, and with the confidence of Your Imperial Majesty, I will pursue the task undertaken and I hope to succeed in a very short time. The lion will be freed of the thorn.

"Praying your Imperial Majesty to continue to grant me His Grace, which gives me the necessary courage and makes me proud and happy. . .

II.

In London he was winned and dined like a victor. Society sought him out. He became a social "lion." Among non-Jews Zionism became fashionable. No public meetings were held, but Herzl held court at the Hotel Cecil and received from his lieutenants, who now included Zangwill, every possible co-operation. But the way to two million pounds sterling was not discovered. Zangwill induced the Maccabaeans to entertain Herzl but though the general sentiment was sympathetic, this dinner, by its absentees, denoted that the communal leaders were not yet ready for overtures. Zangwill making his debut as a Zionist, said:

"In the long centuries of Israel's exile the nation has produced great men—from Maimonides to Mayer Rothschild—but Herzl is the first statesman the Jews have had since the destruction of Jerusalem. Statesmen enough they have given to other nations—Gambetta to France, Lassalle to Germany,

Disraeli to England. But Dr. Herzl is the first Jewish politician to put his life at the service of the Jews . . . others had millions, but not political genius. Dr. Herzl has the political genius but not the millions."

Of his own speech Herzl wrote: "I said so little, that much can be imagined." This reticence probably was a mistake. It made a case for his English opponents, who said: "If Dr. Herzl wishes to raise an army of Maccabaeen workers in his cause he must take them into his confidence more fully than he has yet done." Herzl was indeed in a cleft stick. He had a mass organization to which he could not appeal in such terms as to raise large sums, nor had he developed the machinery for money raising from the masses. On the other hand the rich Jews stood aloof closing all means of approach. Herzl had like all men the defect of his qualities. He was naturally secretive, and he was far more bent on playing chess with the Sultan than on rallying his supporters to his side. His chess required millionaires, not masses. Though there was no ill will amongst the Jews towards the Sultan, there was no respect for him personally; the attempt therefore to create a pro-Sultan sentiment and realize on it was the most difficult of all the things that Herzl attempted. Yet that was the burden of his address to the Maccabaeans:

" . . . I willingly admit that in the exposition and prosecution of our scheme we have often been at fault—that we were too unprecise in speech, too clumsy in action, inasmuch as we did not recognize thankfully enough the merits of those who worked before us, or simultaneously with us, for the interests of Judaism. All these misunderstandings and differences must be set at rest at this moment when we stand perhaps at a turning point in the destiny of the Jewish people.

"Honoured friends and foes: You will without further

word understand how difficult it is for me to speak on that very point, the elucidation of which you now expect from me. There is a danger at hand if I say too much, and a danger at hand if I say too little. I have had many an unhappy experience of the construction that can be put upon words. My conscience is quite clear of the guilt of having awakened false hopes among the masses of my partisans. But this very reproach has been laid at my door. I have never promised miracles, I have merely pointed out self-help as the path of salvation. I said, place no reliance on the help of others, count not on benefactors or on the melting of stones, for benefactors give the most humiliating alms, and rocks do not become soft. A people that wishes to raise itself must place its whole reliance upon itself.

"After this fashion, as you know, we started on our wearisome way. There were bad moments, there were good moments—moments in which one despaired, and moments in which one hoped again. In such a good moment, in the autumn of 1898, it was that I told my brethren in the East End of London that I held the realization of our hopes to be nigh. I ought not to have said it. People fell on me as on a charlatan. The final judgment, however, will be taken by a later age which will have before its eyes all the evidence. Then will be seen how truly I spoke on this occasion, and what it was that interfered.

"But verdicts that may be given thirty or fifty years hence do not perfectly console us for the misery of the moment. Posterity has this great defect, that we cannot enjoy it, even when it is not disagreeable for us. Therefore, I, from that time, strongly resolved nevermore to awaken a hope, even when I had the strongest grounds therefor. Moreover, I confess that the adversaries of premature communications have a certain measure of reason. It is better that the people should wait yet a little longer than that they should set out a little too early. The matter bristles with acute responsibilities, and the more seriously my friends and I take it, the more cautious must we be. And I go further. If I, made wise by my past experiences, would, not one short half-hour before the desired goal, cry 'arrived!' it may also be that, for utilitarian reasons, even half-an-hour after we had arrived, I should not be in a hurry to cry out. You see, gentlemen, the danger of saying

too much has become quite clear to me. But there is that other danger—of saying too little. The risk is that people may believe there is nothing at all to say. Especially is it appropriate that one should say something on an occasion on which it is expected from one, that he will open his mouth not only to eat. I have not only my present audience in mind, but I dare say the most distant members of our race, on the Continent and on other continents who will read the report of our proceedings in the journals—in the journals of all languages—will all be asking the same question—what is the news?

“My last journey to Constantinople and the extraordinary complimentary and friendly reception by which I was there honoured eminently justifies this question. I will answer it. But you will not be immoderately surprised if I, in Jewish fashion, answer this question with another. But when you, the present company, hear the interrogative reply, when those who are far away read it, it may be that the whole Jewish question rises in its misery and its majesty. My question—my Jewish question—the Jewish question—is: Are you ready? Are you ready to show yourself grateful for an historic succor which is being brought you? Are you ready to stand by him who is ready to stand by you? How great, how swift, is your readiness?

“It is not the practical men, calculators, the counters and the weighers who should be the most astonished if the question stands forth in this shape—Do ut des. As Heine put it:

“By the hand alone, a hand is washed,
Wouldst thou take, then must thou give.

“I speak, as you see, of money, although I have never been a business man and never shall be one. I speak of money—and, perhaps, my only excuse is that I speak of much money. For with an odd half-crown the thing cannot be carried through. Here seems to lie a difficulty because we have opposed to us the obese and complacent irony of those who understand nothing in the world but interest and compound interest. And here I am reminded of the witty observation of a banker who told me once, ‘whenever you propose to business men an affair with a moral or ideal smack, you will encounter the greatest mistrust.’ Perhaps he is right! Perhaps the ethical is a bad recommendation to people who know it not. But if the money will not be found by the magnates, it must be found

by the masses. And, therefore, I speak beyond this hospitable table—outside these walls.

"We want at once about two million pounds. . . . If the Jewish people, when it hears the demand I make today, add say one-and-one-half million to what we have already in our coffers, then we can make a very definite step forward."

The foregoing address, as well as the following manifesto which he issued to American Jewry, was the voice of Herzl but the pen of Zangwill:

"A critical moment has arrived in the history of the Jews. Despite every misrepresentation to the contrary, the Sultan of Turkey is a friend of the Jews. Indeed, I say boldly the Jews of the world have no better friend than the ruler of Palestine.

"Shall they miss this unprecedented opportunity of laying the ghost of the Jewish question, of ending the tragedy of the wandering Jew?

"Will the Jews of America in particular forget, in their own happiness in the glorious land of freedom, how heavy is the bondage of their brethren?

"Now or never is the moment for the oppressed Jews of the world to settle themselves in their old historic home.

"And how much money is needed for this object, for this great historic and religious enterprise? Not more than the sum at which a hundred paltry commercial companies are floated, not more than the sum at which I originally fixed the desired capital of the Jewish Colonial Trust in London, only two million pounds. Nay, let the Jews of the world but contribute a million and a half to the amount already in our coffers—a million and a half—less than a dollar a head—and this great tragedy of the ages changes its complexion, transforms itself to a drama with a happy ending. A ruined people regenerates itself in regenerating a ruined soil. The desert blossoms as the rose and an ancient race grows young again in the sweet air of liberty and security.

"What an opportunity! As my friend Zangwill said at the Maccabaeon dinner, even as an experiment it is worth trying. The magnates of the race might well give themselves the luxury of the adventure. It is so cheap, and there are so many more foolish ways of wasting their money.

"And if the magnates will not do it, then the masses must. The shares of the Jewish Colonial Trust are only one pound each. But whether by the few or the many, whether by Jews or by true Christians, the sum must be raised. It is incredible that it should not be. An indelible stain would be left upon our people; their prayers would become blasphemy. But I will not anticipate so hideous a mockery, such treachery to their centuries of sorrow, to their ancestral dreams. Let me rather dwell on the vision of a unanimous people offering to a materialized world the spectacle of a splendid idealism.

It was printed in the New York *Herald*. As far as the published record reveals it created no response even in Zionist circles though the Federation of American Zionists was just then in session in Philadelphia. This failure was probably in some measure due to the faulty handling of the manifesto in London. On the fact of the audience the *American Hebrew* offered two views: "The great danger is that once conditions promise to be favorable a stampede towards the Holy Land may ensue." And "the attitude of the non-Zionists towards the movement is a question mark. That mark asks: Is the plan practicable, and as a corollary, are there men to carry it out?"¹

The sessions of the Central Conference of American Rabbis which followed immediately show that very little curiosity was aroused by Herzl's thrilling and unique experience. The presidential message delivered at that conference by Rabbi Dr. Joseph Silverman "much to the surprise of his hearers," observed a reporter, did say "there were features of the movement that might justly commend themselves to their approval . . . the money he asks for must be speedily forthcoming if Dr. Herzl took into his confidence the Jewish leaders of the world"

¹June 21, 1901.

at a world conference which Dr. Silverman suggested should be called.

But his fellow rabbis would none of it. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise spoke in a glorious minority of one in favor of a discussion of Zionism. The other rabbis would not even agree that a paper on Zionism should be part of the next year's program. They substituted "Jewish Colonisation" admittedly with an eye on the I. C. A. Small prospects therefore for real results in answer to that "manifesto," which in retrospect was wholly uninformative. Herzl and his colleagues too often took for granted popular comprehension of the inwardness of his acts.

But Herzl was not anticipating serious response from America. London was his vantage point, and from there he wrote the following letter to the Sultan, "all of which I could have told him in Constantinople."

"I have the honor to place at the foot of the Throne of Your Imperial Majesty the result of my proceedings.

"Following the line which Your Imperial Majesty deigned to indicate to me, I believe it most urgent to procure before the month of October, a million and a half of Turkish pounds which would replace in a less onerous fashion the difficult if not impossible work of unification of the debt.

"The combination which my friends and I have found is the following:

"The 1,500,000 pounds could be procured by the immediate creation of a new resource. But this resource should at the same time have the character of advising the Jews of the highly generous sentiments which Your Imperial Majesty entertains in His paternal heart for them. In this manner we are preparing the ground for all future operations.

"To this effect, my friends are disposed to create a company with a capital of five million pounds Turkish. This company would have for its purpose, the development of agriculture, of industry, and of commerce, in a word of economic life

in Asia Minor, Palestine, and Syria. All the necessary concessions being given by the kindness of Your Imperial Majesty, the company would become engaged by its capital and could immediately make a loan amortizable in eighty-one years.

"This loan would therefore, so to say, cost nothing because the cost of the interest and of the redemption would be made by the company which would hold all the bonds of the loan, and dispose of them afterwards. The government would simply receive £1,500,000.

"It follows, be it well understood, that the company must be an Ottoman corporation, and the Jewish immigrants should immediately become Ottoman subjects, accepting military service under the glorious flag of Your Imperial Majesty.

"With the £1,500,000 raised there would be time for study, and to realize on other resources. Your Imperial Majesty has deigned to speak to me of a match monopoly.

"I have found amongst my friends those able to carry out this project. In this also they would strive to offer to your Imperial Majesty the most advantageous conditions so that we would be able to raise from the revenue on matches a further loan without increasing the impost seriously. Similar steps would be taken for the exploitation of petroleum sources, of the mines, and likewise for electricity.

"The propositions for these other projects will be planned and figured out as soon as Your Imperial Majesty shall require. The match question can be settled with little delay, the others will require more time for study. And I permit myself to add that my disinterested services are for all these purposes entirely at the disposal of Your Imperial Majesty even if he should not believe it useful to enter at once into the combination of the Grande Compagnie Ottomane Juive, for Asia Minor.

"I wish above all to prove to Your Imperial Majesty that he has in me a zealous and devoted servant. I work for Your Imperial Majesty, asking nothing but the honor and the happiness of high confidence because I am convinced that in this way, the moment will soon come when it will be recognized that the interest of the Ottoman Empire is to attract the economic forces of the Jews and to protect our unfortunates. On the other hand, it is to the greatest interest of the Jews to see Turkey strong and flourishing. This is the idea of my life.

"The combination of the Ottoman Jewish Company would have, outside of the advantage of giving a signal of hope to

the entire Jewish people, this other advantage that the taxable resources—men and things—would increase in every province where the company would work. The company would pay more and more taxes with the growth of its business. Jewish capital would rush in from all sides to establish itself and to remain in the empire. At the same time this discreet work which has been called the drawing of the thorn from the lion, would be pursued, unknown to all those who wish evil to the Empire.

“There remains for me to add but one word. If Your Imperial Majesty desires that the arrangement of the £1,500,000 be made before the month of October, there is no time to lose. We must not lose sight of the fact that men of business and of finance require positive arrangements before depositing the necessary sums. We must allow at least three months for the payment of the capital. If Your Imperial Majesty in His great wisdom judges it advisable to enter into negotiations, to have at His disposal in October the £1,500,000, the concessions for the Great Company should be determined by the beginning of July. If I receive an order to come to Constantinople I shall repair thither without delay. In this case, in my humble opinion, it would be desirable to call thither at the same time, my excellent friend, Professor Vambéry, who is a deeply devoted servant of Your Imperial Majesty and who, with his knowledge of the general conditions of the country, could be very useful.

“I do not know if I am permitted to mention another matter. I do so with much reserve, desiring above all not to displease Your Imperial Majesty. I have been informed that there is in Paris, a writer, Mr. Ahmed Riza, who is well known for his attacks on the Imperial Government. I have been told that there is a means of putting an end to these attacks. I have simply taken note of this matter without commenting in any way, for I do not presume to mix in any way whatsoever in affairs of this kind, desirous though I be to serve upon every occasion the august person of Your Imperial Majesty. I shall do nothing without order, I shall not even see this person without authorization. But if Your Imperial Majesty believes it useful, I shall take up the case and it goes without saying that to put an end to the attacks, I will accept no reward except a word of approval from Your Imperial Majesty which to me is the highest recompense.”

In a letter to Oser Kokesch, one of the members of the Vienna Zionist executive, he explained this letter to the Sultan: "I wrote it because our people want something they can grip before they perspire." Moreover, he was writing for the eyes of the entourage. He was never sure the Sultan would receive accurate translations of his detailed letters.

To Zangwill he allotted the task of finding a means of approach to Andrew Carnegie who was just then becoming conspicuous as a philanthropist and he used Hechler to reach the Bishop of Ripon in the hope that by this means he would be received by King Edward—an attempt to attract the wealthy English Jews by snobbery.

Day after day during this visit Herzl discussed in the Hotel Cecil his vicious circle: "Give me the money I will get the charter, obtain the charter and I will get the money." Every kind of expedient was suggested to break the impasse. The author was amongst those who maintained sternly in these sessions that non-Jewish aid for a Jewish redemption was unthinkable, even though there was Biblical warrant for the idea. Had not the Jews left Egypt laden with the spoils of the Egyptians? The more practical difficulties were that Herzl needed three kinds of funds—money for the conversion of the Turkish Debt, money for a land company and then cash not to be accounted for. He tried to dispense with the latter by his offer of the profits of the conversion plans to Yildiz Kiosk, but there was great doubt whether the possible profits would suffice. He had the key to the political situation, but he did not know how to gain admission to money vaults.

With his aides he tried to organize a "round table conference" with the "Upper Jews," but he got no further than a meeting arranged by Dr. Gaster, with Claude G. Montefiore, who promised to submit his proposals impartially to the I. C. A. Herzl attached no great weight to this prospect. Isaac Seligman's report that Montagu et al would finance the cause once the charter was obtained was a more tangible prospect and he hopefully awaited the Sultan's response to his letters. "Naturally I did not expect that money would be forthcoming in response to my vague reports." He returned to Vienna satisfied that he had made some progress, and hopeful that he might eventually secure the aid either of Carnegie or Cecil Rhodes.

III.

Herzl received a few weeks later a characteristic tip from Cecil Rhodes: "Let him put money in his purse." Katzenelsohn of Libau, from the founding of the Trust, one of his loyal Russian supporters, reported to Vienna that he had been informed, that for a consideration of ten thousand rubles, an audience with the Czar could be arranged. But Herzl determined to await events in Turkey, where new complications had arisen. The seizure of the foreign mail had merely been an instance of the autocrat's bad manners. Now the Sultan, having taken sides in a dispute between the Russian and French religious Christian orders, proceeded to direct the suspension of the payment of bonds due a French company which had erected the new quay at Constantinople. France recalled her ambassador. Herzl saw "good fishing in troubled waters." And even Vambéry who so often counselled patience, said he was of a mind

to go to Constantinople and effect the dismissal of Izzet Bey, the private secretary, who had more actual authority than the Grand Vizier. Vambery was the friend of Tahsin Bey, another secretary, who however was opposed to the Zionist leader.

Convinced that in his London letter he had carefully paraphrased his "charter" by the phrase, "*toutes les concessions necessaires*," he pressed Vambery to act so that the "*Compagnie Ottoman-Juive pour L'Asia Mineure, la Palestine et le Syrie*," might be established, and function. This spring board could serve him, and the Sultan's present plight suggested he might obtain much more, if he could get some action. But his appeals for financial aid had produced nothing substantial, and the letter which he wrote to Prof. Mandelstamm of Kiev, in August, was characteristic of his mood:

"It must rain pitch and brimstone to soften these stones.

"It is unheard of, and in fifty years their graves will be spat upon, when it is discovered that I almost came to an arrangement with the Sultan, and could not raise the trumpety money. Naturally we dare not today air our worry and pain, for then we would expose our inner weakness, and I must carefully conceal it, to win time, to draw water out of rocks, scratch gold out of the mire.

"It would be better for me to put up the shutters, and issue a proclamation: 'So, Jews, a poor helpless journalist brought it so far in five years as to conduct these negotiations personally with the Sultan. What I could do I did and more. But you leave me in the lurch, you are 'impedimenta'—the devil take you. I worry no more."

"A beau geste, but however pleasant and convenient, it is denied me. I must drag along. The worst however is, that not only do the antis and the indolent but our own people give me trouble. . . . There is talk of Young Zionism, etc. Truly our Young Turks arrive early on the scene. We are quite a talented people.

"But at that I laugh. If they would only force me out of the movement!

"At present my one worry is Gold! Great God, where shall I get it. I am breaking my head to find some.

"The Congress will take place Christmas in Basle. An unfavorable time. My proposition to hold it in July in London was defeated by the factions, because it was mine."

He followed the French imbroglio with keen interest, and regretted that he had nothing better than a "wooden sword" with which to wage this unequal combat. All through the summer he was approached by Turkish representatives with projects, but he held himself cautiously aloof. On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Sultan's accession he sent a congratulatory message and the immediate response convinced him that "the thread had not been broken." The story of the thorn in the lion's paw was working, but he again urged Vambery "to smite the iron while it was hot." Ramazan, the Islamic holy month, was approaching and Turkey would need funds. But Yildiz was silent.

A new idea occurred to him. "In his "multiple chess game" he moved a new "pawn" to the front—the simile is his—a letter to the Sultan suggesting that he take steps to secure Prof. Richard Gottheil as American Minister to Constantinople. But the letter remained unanswered; so he proceeded to Pesth in October and stormed at Vambery, first to write and then to proceed to Constantinople.

The French had landed troops at Mitylene and seized the customs there in order to obtain satisfaction of the unpaid bills due a French company on the Constantinople quay building contract. Under what looked like British pressure France speedily withdrew. But this was not Turkey's only trouble that year and Herzl could

therefore with truth point to having predicted in his letters to the Sultan evil days for Turkey. So in October he wrote the Sultan again:

"I advised you of the painful events which have taken place during these last days. These evils could have been averted if Your Imperial Majesty had done me the honor of listening to my devoted advice. Other evils are approaching and the remedy is none other than the regulation of the financial situation.

"Permit me to say that I am still prepared to devote myself to this task. When it shall please your Imperial Majesty to call upon my humble services, I shall hasten to organize the necessary measures—be it today, tomorrow, in six months. Your Imperial Majesty can count always upon my devotion."

To Ibrahim, with whom he carried on an active correspondence, he was even more insistent. "Unfortunately my predictions, founded on solid information, have been realized and the end is not yet."

Meanwhile the Greater Actions Committee had met and authorized the Trust to report that it was in a condition to do business, but it was agreed that no actual banking business should be begun. But this situation brought out another phase of Herzl's versatile character, and his absorbing interest in every Zionist detail.

At the March Conference it was decided that the Trust should create a subordinate corporation which should operate in Palestine—the Anglo-Palestine Company. This proposition could only be made effective when the Trust was declared active. Wolffsohn hesitated in October to proceed with these projects because he was distrustful of the capacity of the London management. A somewhat acrimonious correspondence between him and Herzl followed. The latter had taken note of anonymous and other complaints, and Wolffsohn

objected to Herzl's interference. Wolffsohn was President of the Trust and he wrote, "You seem to forget that I have the direct primary responsibility. If we are unsuccessful, doubtless all will willingly admit it. . . . I beg you therefore . . . under all circumstances avoid deciding anything in my name."

Herzl agreed in principle but (November 1) "on condition that I am previously informed about every proposed act. . . . It is my duty to care for everything of importance, and only as long as I do so, am I, and shall I deserve to be, leader."

Wolffsohn was hurt by the suggestion that he had not faithfully done his duty, but there were, he pleaded, limits to the results he could produce: "One can't run full tilt at everything," and Herzl could "only succeed, if he would not attempt to do everything himself. The commander must be informed of everything, but he cannot shoot side by side with his soldiers, otherwise he loses the perspective and may easily be wounded. The less you interfere directly in each single matter the better perspective and width of view you will have and the more influence you will exert."

The decision to begin operating the Trust gave Herzl one advantage over Wolffsohn in that he had practical control of the Advisory Council. Wolffsohn desired a larger measure of freedom in action commensurate with his responsibilities. He asked, November 28, for the annulment of past decisions and second, that the Directorate should assume full responsibility. The authority in the Trust was complicated. The Board of Governors had a complete veto power. Wolffsohn irked at responsibility without authority. "Consider," he wrote, "this is a financial transaction. In case of failure your reputa-

tion, which is of more importance to us than the whole Trust, will be damaged, and success will bring you no honor."

Herzl responded, "Formulate your proposals, and send them to me. If they are right, and make possible orderly, economical, practical administration, I will support them with all my influence. I guarantee that they will be accepted in half an hour. . . . But I flatly refuse to be severed from the daily, even hourly supervision of the Trust, as long as I have to direct Zionism. The Trust was founded on my name, and upon my responsibility. . . . Don't sulk. Your whole immediate business is to care for the precious pennies of the poor;" and he repeated an old suggestion, Wolffsohn was being badly advised. The staff of the Trust told many stories of Herzl's reverent consideration of the monies intrusted to it. During each of his London visits he made more than a cursory inspection of the institution and always impressed the bookkeepers and clerks that they were guarding a sacred trust.

Wolffsohn did not yield easily. Herzl should stick to principles and not interfere in details, and he wrote to Herzl an excellent description of the leader.

"You are a man of force, valuable beyond price for our movement, but in business everything has to be paid for in cash; the more forceful the man—the higher the expense! . . . You are no business man. You could destroy stock exchanges, but you could not lead a commercial institution. If you would hold together the pennies of our poor you must not, as you frequently do, yield to your desire for instantaneous action."

Herzl delayed his answer. He was seriously preoccupied with Turkish and Palestinean problems. In November he attempted to organize a "society for the

study of the technical problems of Syria and Palestine." For his own use he asked the author to obtain several books.¹

In the end as always, Wolffsohn and he compromised their differences and Herzl turned from letter writing about the Trust to preparing his congress address—"more egg dances than ever." Moreover he wrote a letter to the Sultan so as to insure some response for the Congress. Writing December 20, 1901:

"When I had the signal honor of being received in audience, I took the liberty, respectfully to call your attention that it might be useful from a financial as well as from a political point of view to make known to the Jews of all countries the noble and generous feeling which your Imperial Majesty cherishes in His paternal heart for the persecuted Jewish people.

"An occasion now presents itself. Towards the end of this month, the annual Congress of the Zionists will meet at Basle to deliberate on the lot, alas! so unhappy, of the Jews of the entire world.

"I will preside at this assembly, and I intend to profit by this circumstance, to show in a few words, the kindness of the glorious reigning Caliph, for the Jews. The effect cannot be otherwise than favorable. But how much greater would be the general impression conveyed if Your Imperial Majesty would deign to have sent to me a message of good-will in reply to the telegram of homage and respectful devotion which I shall have the honor to send to him at the opening of the Congress. This would be the happiest preparation for the day when Your Imperial Majesty, in his great wisdom, shall judge it wise to call upon the grateful services of the Jews of the entire world."

¹J. W. Peppercorn: "Testimonies to the Fertility of the Holy Land." Report on the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway; Blue Book of 1893. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1848: On the fall of the Jordan. The Dead Sea. "New Route to India," London, 1855. *Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal* (April, 1802) containing an article on the climate of Palestine.

The Blue book and maps were sent. But the other volumes were replaced with more modern material.

IV.

The Fifth Zionist Congress was held in the closing days of 1901, and ended after the inhabitants of Basle, with quaint ceremony, had solemnly greeted the New Year—1902. This change of date created an opportunity for the attendance of a new type of delegate, and considerably influenced not only the proceedings, but also what had become the atmosphere of Zionist congresses. The First Congress was distinctly a gathering of professional men holding no particular position in Jewry. At the second and the third congresses the rabbinic element began to make its presence felt; the fourth brought business men, and more delegates affiliated with local communal affairs. The fifth, being held in the winter, was the opportunity for the invasion of the student groups whose ideas had already provoked Herzl in his August letter to Mandelstamm. Although he knew “Young Zion” represented trouble he did nothing to prevent its assembling, except to obtain an agreement that it would be an unofficial gathering, and eventually paid its deficit. “Young Zion” was not wholly youthful.

A large number of Russian Jewish students attended the Swiss universities. They represented “Jewish Youth, Jewish Culture, Jewish Art” and even more indefinite ideals—part of the stirring of the “dry bones” of Israel which Herzl had brought about. At the second, third and fourth congresses Herzl succeeded in keeping the Kultur question in the background. It had two phases, the historic religiosity which Gaster expressed, and the national educational phase which the more numerous followers of Achad Ha’am voiced. On the ground that he wished to keep religious issues out of



DELEGATE AND SOUVENIR CARD DESIGNED FOR THE FIFTH CONGRESS BY E. M. LILLIEN.

the congress the leader had succeeded in his policy of preventing discussion.

But at the fifth congress the new Jewish Kultur was personified by this large group of students. They began with a conference, a public caucus all their own, well ahead of the Congress.

"Fifty-nine students debating in Russian, with two hundred and fifty exuberantly voluble auditors electrified by their surroundings. . . . Four ladies among the delegates, girls in plain serge dresses, notebook in hand, following every word of the Chairman. Behind, the visiting element, two hundred strong, a larger number of young women of the same type, and in the same style of dress. The men are all of the stronger Russo-Jewish type—Russian rather than Jewish—little of the deep-set eyes and dreamy Lithuanian face.

"The attitude of the gathering is wanting in repose; it is a picture of lightning flashes of vivacity. There is enough of nervous temperament here to supply the inhabitants of some large phlegmatic Dutch town. The bell rings and rings, the chatter is continuous, rising at a pause, falling to a murmur when the speaker holds the audience. Every observation, from whomsoever it comes, is but a stream with a hundred tributaries of comment.

"At length we have got to an item on the programme, a chestnut-haired, white-faced Russian young delegate is up to talk upon the economic problem and the conference is silent whilst amid the mass of Russian words the magic English terms, 'trade union,' 'economic,' 'social,' 'democratic,' 'constitution,' make themselves heard. Figures there are here to fill an atelier. A fair Jew with hair rolling down his neck, some men with moustachios that would do credit to a Brunswick dragoon. Tousle-haired students in cloaks and cowls, Russians in sables and fur caps, men as fair as Vikings, and others dark as Hamlet's cloak, made effective contrasts."¹

Two old Zionists, Leo Motzkin and Bernstein-Kohann, aided by one newcomer, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, led

¹London *Jewish Chronicle*, January 3, 1902.

this conference which "worshipped in theory the Democratic ideal. Many of the English common political terms were its 'Mesopotamias'." It split into three factions, "Young Zion," theoretical democracy; Kultur element, educational; and the "center," supporters of the Zionist status quo. The "center" was in the majority. It started as a group of Russian delegates differing with the other two groups, but speedily rallied to its support the other non-Russian delegates who had taken no part in the caucus and its divisions. But the Kultur element was the most persistent, and was the factor which Nordau castigated in sardonic terms. "Young Zion," however, included all the rebellious elements that were in a position to make trouble. To many of the delegates their strict parliamentary tactics were a nuisance.

The regular congress was to Herzl another "egg dance," and the first one at which during the sessions he suffered a heart attack. The program of the congress included one new feature, the establishment of the Jewish National Fund, but the serious delegates wanted to understand the political situation, while the divided "Young Zion" elements succeeded in diverting the agenda from the outset so that Kultur in all its phases became the main issue of the sessions. There were more periods of long silent listening, less thunderous applause, and more interparliamentary struggles than at any previous congress.

"There was a straining of ears as Dr. Herzl spoke, an unusual silence when he pronounced the first verdict, 'The Jews must solve their own Jewish problem.' There was a wait again as he made his brief observation on his audience with the Sultan and the Sultan's attitude as reigning Caliph. There was a catch cheer, a thunderous rumble, and then a torrential outpouring of cheers."

Despite mutual criticism on the part of various organization leaders the movement had so grown "that the telegrams of greeting were so abundant that it was impossible even to read the list of towns and societies from which they came." In response to a message Herzl had sent him, the Sultan sent a reply, but not as promptly as Herzl desired; "on the evening of the second day the answer arrived. Till then I trembled," writes Herzl in his notes.

But the congress knew this not. It was knee deep in an organization problem. The English-speaking groups were united and demanded the independence of the Federations within their own territory. The issue arose over a local struggle in the United States; it was compromised then but never settled. The wounds bled afresh in 1921. This issue was part of the general organization debate which necessitated an all night session. Herzl in this remolding of the organization took the democratic lead. "Principally," he writes, "I wanted to break the iron ring which has been created in several countries. The original 'leaders' monopolize the federations."

"Once the house was counted out at 2 A. M., and one hundred and thirty delegates responded; we went steadily on from 6 P. M. to 3 A. M. and in addition committees were in session all the time. There was desire to place the whole movement on a well ordered basis, and the Jewish National Fund was created by formal roll call on every clause of its constitution. It was no longer a congress; it had become a miniature parliament."

The Kultur wing broke in upon this grinding order of business, but the congress after listening a while to endless hair splitting differences of opinion that prevailed amongst the "culturists" struggled by resolution

to get back to its own program. Outvoted, thirty-seven delegates led by Bernstein-Kohann left the hall and filed into the gallery to watch the proceedings. But a clever witticism at their expense, "Kultur has raised itself from the floor to the gallery," brought the malcontents trooping back. Herzl by very practical politics in the sessions conciliated the young rebels. He had an art for these minor concessions and believed youth must have its fling, but should know its place. He was sympathetic both to Lilien the artist, and Feival the writer, but felt they forced the fringes into the center of the cloth he was so laboriously weaving. But against the two older leaders, Bernstein-Kohann and Motzkin (the latter was at one session showered with flowers by his followers), he contended with might and main.

"Zangwill, the Zionist," made his first formal appearance at this congress with a bitter, provocative, but brilliant attack on the I. C. A., carrying on the campaign he had begun earlier in the year.

"Zangwill," comments Herzl, "spoke wittily, but while Nordau translated his speech it flashed upon me not to permit the I. C. A. issue to come to a vote. . . . I believe that was good. Otherwise the next day it would have been said Zionism is a robber's attack on the Hirsch millions. For the same reason I declined the resolution submitted by the Exaltados Syrkin and Buchmil, who desired to organize mass demonstrations against the I. C. A. in the larger cities. . . . I was glad when the congress was over. I quit the demonstrations as soon as possible. That sort of thing gives me less and less pleasure."

In order to establish the Jewish National Fund on a democratic basis Herzl participated more frequently in the detailed debates than he had done at any previous debate. The National Fund was purely a land purchasing fund and he was determined to limit it to that purpose.

There was a proud tone as well as a skilful reference to all the new developments in the movement in his presidential address:

"We have not tried by abuse to prove that we are superior people. Nor have we in vague discourses alluded to the imminent brotherhood of all mankind. Nor do we thrust another nationality as a mask before us. And we do not work unceasingly toward the overthrow of all things. All this is not our concern. We believe that the means for the solution of the Jewish question are to be found in the existing laws that govern society.

"What is demanded from those who attempt the solution of a great question is not only that they should be sufficiently in earnest, but that they should be dispassionate enough to be able to judge the given circumstances. These circumstances are sad, but merely sitting down to bewail them will not improve matters. When we show ourselves sufficiently capable to proceed to deeds, then the cooperation of honorable men will not fail us. Many things bear out what I say. Every impartial man is bound to recognize that we propose a final solution. . . .

"To make our proletariat settled and industrious was in itself, apart from national or religious considerations, a gigantic task. You know that many previous attempts lacking neither good-will nor great material means have been made. You know, too, that the re-attempts have failed. Why? Because they started from a wrong standpoint. They thought: First—money! No! Gold will procure dependents; a people is not to be so moved. Only an idea can do that. An idea has done it!

"In our criticism of former attempts, however, we must guard ourselves against arrogance. As a matter of fact we stand to the earlier Zionists in the same relation as people who apply modern improvements to a useless antiquated machine. And a venerable old machine it is; indeed, it belongs to a museum. We would not, were it only out of respect for our predecessors and brothers-in-thought, emphasize the difference between us were not the unsatisfactory results of those attempts advanced as arguments against us. Benevolent colonisation has come to nothing. The national effort will succeed.

"If asked what we would do with the settlers, we would

not be at a loss for an answer. We want to make them indigenous, real natives of the soil. They shall live on the soil, from the soil, not as powerless pedlars haggling over market prices. They should only market their surplus. Each settlement shall govern itself as an active agricultural community, according to the principles that experience and science have put in our hands. We are bound to follow these principles if we would assure, with God's help, public and legal guarantees for our programme. So will the way be paved toward that lasting peace for which the Jewish people so eagerly longs.

"What will be reared on this broad and substantial foundation of an industrious agricultural population? What modern and ample edifice will depend upon the people itself, after we have created the means whereby it can work out its own destiny? In this all the energy of Jewry can find an outlet, both for the ignorant and the learned. No longer will it be necessary to exclude Jewish children from school, as is the case in many a place today. A characteristic which, perhaps, does not redound to the discredit of the Jews, is that they regard the restriction of public instruction as the greatest of the existing cruelties. Of other persecutions we will not speak, as our Congress is not meant to be a second Wailing Wall. We must not complain, but act. All the more so since the former representatives of Jewish interest have shown themselves incapable of accomplishing anything. Alms will not help; they are merely the bond that unites the unemployed rich with the unemployed poor. But these two categories do not represent the whole Jewish people."

From the I. C. A. he turned to the emigration movement.

"In the last few years a kind of so-called help has, indeed, been rendered, viz., the shipping of the uprooted of Europe to the New World. In other words, America has been discovered. Unhappily this discovery came somewhat too late. America wishes no more of these poor immigrants than does England. Moreover, there is already, too, in America great Jewish suffering. And in America the acknowledgment has forced its way through that the solution we offer is the right one. As proof, see the growing number of Zionist Associations which

stretch in one long chain from the north of North America to the south of South America, from Canada to the Argentine. Only in certain Jewish circles of Western Europe is there a desire to recognize anything but this truth—that we are right.

“It is maintained by our opponents that there are insurmountable political obstacles, but that might be said of the smallest obstacle, in the absence of the inclination to overcome it. In these last five years, looking at everything dispassionately, we have never found that the nations and the governments are against us. On the contrary, whenever here and there a friendlier tone has been adopted toward the Jews, it is due to Zionism. On the other hand, moreover, the governments and nations are indebted to Zionism for having indicated a conciliatory solution of the Jewish question; without barbarity, without mediæval cruelty, nay, in perfect peace.

“Next we have naturally to ask, what Turkey and its sovereign ruler think of us. I had, in May of this year, the honor of being received in a long audience by His Majesty Sultan Abdul Hamid. The kindness and heartiness of this reception realized my fondest hopes. From the words and attitude of His Majesty I gained the conviction that in the reigning Caliph the Jewish people have a friend and protector. The Sultan has authorized me publicly to announce this. May the Jews of all the world become aware of this; may they understand what prospects for them are contained in this fact, and may they at last be prepared to act so that they may be able to help themselves and contribute to the reblossoming of the Turkish Empire.

Then he struck a new note, an acknowledgment of the inner growth of the movement:

“We, your representatives, have completed our preliminary task. We have been like engineers who undertake to install an electric system. We have built the engines that can convert energy into current; we have laid, too, the conducting wires, more often than not in places that formerly seemed inaccessible.

“The chief item in our installation was this Congress, a representative body for people scattered through all the world, a Jewish tribune, the importance of which has increased year

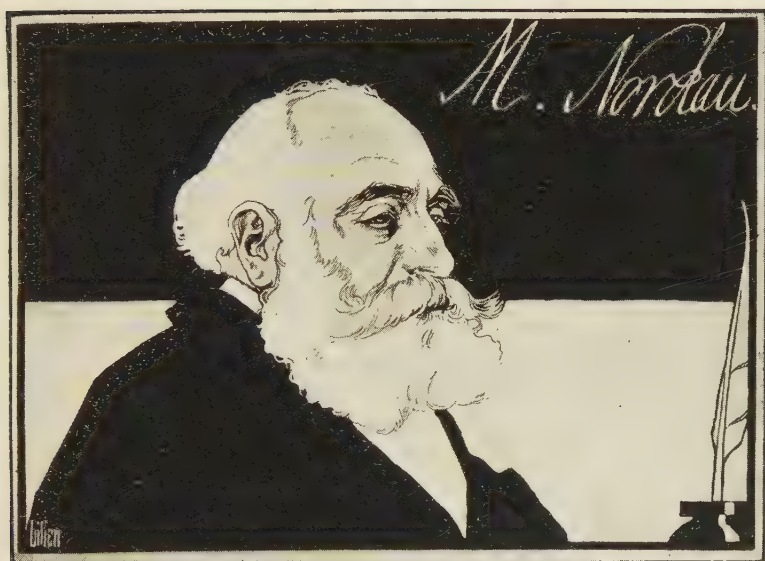
by year, thanks to the earnestness and honest motives of the men who speak from it. Hence go forth already promises of freedom for the whole diaspora. In every country of Europe, in North and South America, in North and South Africa, even in Siberia, in India and in Australia there are now Zionist associations loyal to the Basle programme. Today, for the first time, demonstrations are being held everywhere almost at the same moment. The Universal Zionist Day. Many hundred thousand Jews are participating in it.

"By means of our associations unexpected life has been instilled into Judaism. . . . The spiritual and moral achievements of Zionism are today very significant; this our opponents cannot deny. Already a phalanx of poets, artists, and scholars have been aroused and inspired by our ideal. This is the proof that we undertake everything within human power. And already rays of light are penetrating the dark homes of our poor. Toynbee halls and institutions for popular culture are being formed in various places. At school and in the home a new ideal is presented to the young. At the universities a new spirit has taken hold of the students. Artisans and commercial employees assemble for the purpose of elevating discussion. Moreover, physical culture and social relations are respectively fostered by gymnastic and choral societies. Associations for mutual help are formed. That all speaks for Zionism. We can only found the institutions—the people themselves must support and maintain them. . . .

"We may say, in a certain sense, that our preliminary task is completed. The institutions are for the most part merely in the initial stage and are capable of improvement, but they exist. The Jewish people can extend them, strengthen them, and use them as it will. We have striven disinterestedly to lay foundations that shall be lasting. Today no single one of us is indispensable. Whoever disappears or secedes from the ranks, the cause goes on.

"How quickly or slowly the plans we have prepared will become operative we cannot say. That does not depend upon us here. We can install the system but we cannot supply the power. The power must be supplied by the Jewish Nation—when it will."

The burden of explaining the details of the Jewish



DR. MAX NORDAU.

Reproduced from E. M. Lillien's drawing.

Colonial Trust was put on Sir Francis Montefiore, Wolffsohn, who was really responsible, keeping in the background.

Nordau delivered what was probably his most brilliant address. Its subject, "the physical, intellectual, and economic amelioration of the Jews," suggests the widening interest of the movement. He predicated his address on the fact "that the Jewish people in its entirety, is incomparably the poorest of all the people in the world. I make this assertion unconditionally and unreservedly. . . . Even the remotest savages are incontestably richer than we are." He denied that the Jews were a nation of merchants, and he drew that remarkable picture of the Jewish beggar student, "a specifically Jewish phenomenon," which made all the students present smart. "The poor Jew who raises himself to one of the learned professions, does not cease to be a proletarian," a view in which Herzl agreed—"for he renders proletarian every learned calling into which he enters." As to the Jewish millionaire, "his wealth is a source of weakness rather than of strength . . . his fine example of lack of prejudice builds Christian churches . . . public hospitals from which with strict impartiality Jewish patients, Jewish nurses, and Jewish doctors are alike excluded. . . . He distributes alms and thereby breeds scorners . . . founds colonies . . . where workmen are converted into beggars . . . or bequeaths hundreds of millions to the Jewish people with such conditions that the treasure which might have become the implement for the deliverance of the Jewish people is diverted to the purpose of attacking them. . . . We must recognize in these hundreds of Jewish millionaires the worst enemies of the people."

Then Nordau proceeded to discuss the physical problems involved in Jewish life, pleading for "a complete regeneration of an unfortunate fallen people." Herzl thought many of Nordau's sentences would become guide posts.

Zangwill was the fighting leader of this congress. Herzl had indeed to direct him not to mention names in his attack on the Jewish Colonisation Association. But Zangwill was not to be stopped. He left the problem of the I. C. A.'s treatment of the Palestinean colonies far behind in an assault on the Jewish Colonisation Association Directorate for its failure to meet the current problem. "A few Jews are millionaires," said he, "and they are united against the rest of the Jewish world. . . . What of the directors of these three hundred million francs? How is it nobody trembles before these men, and these millions. . . . These millions were left for the salvation of the Jewish people and the directors cannot stand haughtily over their treasure leaving Israel to sweat and agonize . . ." and quoting the objects of the Company he declared "that they should not have given Zionism a hearing was a public scandal."

The Congress was ready to record its sense of outrage but Herzl checked it, and Dr. Gaster, a week later dissociated himself from Zangwill's philippic.

The fifth was a good Congress though Herzl—one observer noticed—had said less of his charter idea than at the mass meeting in London; "but there was more in the method of his utterance than in his words." The delegates' indifference to Jewish religious observance annoyed the *Jewish Chronicle*, which saw no evidence "that the Imperial consent to the Zionist propaganda was apparent from the Sultan's good wishes" and ac-

claimed Nordau's address "because in the long run the Russian problem will have to be solved in Russia."

A body blow was aimed at the movement by the serious and learned *Quarterly Review*. The anonymous author of "Zionism and anti-Semitism," who afterward proved to have been a proselyte to Judaism,¹ proclaimed Zionism as "worse than satire; it is treason. Dr. Herzl and those who think with him are traitors to the history of the Jews, which they misread and misinterpret." The attack overshot the mark. One man might quail before the charge of treason. Over sixty percent of the Jewish race were in agreement with Herzl. So large a mass could not be hurt by paper pellets. Besides they knew that in his congress address Herzl had in a few sentences told the truth of Jewish history, not for a day, nor a year, nor a century, but for nineteen hundred years:

"The Jewish proletariat today is not only the poorest and the most unhappy but also the most unsettled, and the most disquieted. They wander continually and in great numbers from one misery to another. How great must their ever present wretchedness be that they expose themselves to the despair of migration in order to seek out new misery."

These were the words the Congress listened to in awed silence. And out of them the delegates returning home constructed their challenges to Jewry, to do something.

"The gates are closing,
the sunset falls,

and nowhere can the persecuted flee. . . . For my part I would give up our platform tomorrow for one solid act that offers an end to this torture," said one of Herzl's

¹See introduction by Albert M. Hyamson to *Aspects of the Jewish Question*, by Carl Joubert, New York.

associates. It was this understanding of the problem that had led Herzl to frame his policy of immediate action. He not only conveyed it to his followers, creating in them a desire for action, but the opposition to the movement—naturally refusing all aid—was pin-pricking him with its question: "Why don't you act?"

While *Hazefirah* of Warsaw somewhat regretfully recorded that at the congress "the language of figures overrode the language of emotion," East European orthodox Jewry was favorably impressed by it. The *Jeschurun* of Posen was particularly well impressed by its earnestness, and early in March an orthodox group assembled in Sopotzkin and founded the Mizrachi as the orthodox wing of the Zionist movement, the first aggressive move on the part of orthodox Jewry for many decades.

In other directions too there was a noticeable broadening out. *Die Welt* began to assume an economic and practical attitude, publishing many articles on the practical problems involved in the development of Palestine. At the same time it maintained a drum fire attack on the administration of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, whilst Zangwill was continuing his assaults upon the Jewish Colonisation Association. His belligerency began to enlist the interest of the London daily newspapers. Even the *Times* published editorials on the legality of the Jewish Colonisation Association investing in Palestine, and espoused Zangwill's view. Jews were beginning to think in Zionist terms about the activities of Jewish organizations, and in the response to such acts as the founding of the British Brothers' League, the first anti-Semitic organization founded in London (January) there was manifested a new proud, reserved tone.

Within the organization too there was in process, following the adoption of the new constitution by the Congress, a great display of organization ability. After five years of ceaseless strain Zionism was about to take a firm hold of its supporters, as well as place its propaganda on a sounder basis. The movement was coming "into the open." It had become a very definite party with many divisions. None of these things escaped Herzl, but his mind was elsewhere. He wanted action, and the situation in Roumania where Stourdza was reducing the Jews to silence, and describing it as "peace," particularly aroused the Zionist leader.

CHAPTER XIV

BACK TO YILDIZ KIOSK

An unwelcome call to Constantinople—The involutions of the Turkish Public Debt—Sultan offers scattered settlements—Herzl offers guarantees for concessions—Eulogy of his father.

HERZL began his activities in 1902 by trying to effect another "combination." He indited a long letter to be translated by Zangwill, and delivered by Joseph Cowen, to Cecil Rhodes: "How do I happen to turn to you seeing this is a matter so remote to you? How? Because it is colonial, and because it presupposes an understanding of a development that requires twenty to thirty years. There are dreamers whose vision stretches across long periods, but they lack practical ability. Then there are practical minds like the trust magnates in America, who lack political imagination. You, Mr. Rhodes, however, are either an imaginative politician or a practical visionary. You have proved that."

But this letter with its full explanation of Zionism was never sent, because Zangwill and Cowen were endeavoring to unite another financial group. For this effort Herzl drew up an exposition of his plan for the consolidation of the Ottoman Debt. It was clear to him that the owners of the new bonds to be issued could obtain the charter: "I do not rely on any promise of the Sultan—I am not so naive—but on his necessities. He must give the charter if he does not wish to remain in his present position, which will involve him in ruin."

The bond owners in this plan would nominate the administrators of the Debt, who would control the Turkish finances. If the syndicate controlling the bonds also possessed the charter to Palestine they could realize on that grant and with the funds thus made available would in some measure free the Sultan from the incubus of the Debt by taking less of the fixed Turkish revenues in pledge for the payment of the interest on the Public Debt account. As Herzl explained this operation, the Jewish Colonial Trust would on the basis of the charter organize a land company with a capital of £5,000,000. This figure was based on Isaac Seligman's view of what Montagu and his associates would be willing to do. At the congress it had been agreed that the author should make another attempt to influence Sir Samuel Montagu to take an active interest in the financial phase of the movement. Col. A. E. W. Goldsmid undertook to be the intermediary but on February 23 wrote, "All I could get was a promise that if anything definite was put before the individual in question, it would be fairly considered from a business point of view." The author thereupon had a long and serious discussion with the banker. The latter said he would always give Palestine favorable consideration from a financial viewpoint—one or two per cent—but he could not forget the irreligiosity of those Jews who wished to build up a Jewish Homeland in Palestine. Herzl too had in mind an agreement he had effected in Paris with Narcisse Leven on behalf of the I. C. A. But he expected to raise a good deal of the cash "by public agitation." He felt that if he procured the charter this result could be achieved.

He detailed, in this letter, all the operations that would follow, making clear that the holding group would

be able in his judgment to unload all their securities upon the Land Company, which with the charter would obtain possession of the Crown Lands. "It will be difficult to lose even a single penny." But there might be great profit because the speedy immigration of a large number of Jews would increase both the value of the new Turkish bonds as well as of the shares of the Land Company.

Herzl ignored all the comment on the Congress. He was entirely devoted to his diplomacy. But a local incident intervened which gave him temporarily much trouble. A weekly, *Die Zeit*, was suddenly made into a daily. It was being edited by a philo-Zionist, a great admirer of Herzl's. But the *Neue Freie Presse* feared competition and Herzl was put in the ludicrous position of having to oppose his friends, in order to serve his employers.

It seemed another opportunity to purchase an interest in the *Neue Freie Presse* but again nothing came of it. One evil result of this conflict was another fainting spell. The imaginalist so strong in Herzl caused him to pen these lines:

"I can imagine death, a growing insufficiency of consciousness and this fading out as its most painful experience.

"This morning I thought:

" 'Life—at best one leaves behind mourners.'

"If I die soon, my parents will mourn me most, then less acutely my children; their youth will console them—and the whole Jewish people will mourn.

"A magnificent cortege, tragic, loving, stately."

But these depressing musings yielded on February 5 to a new cause for anxiety. Ibrahim Pascha, the Grand Master of Ceremonies, cabled him to come "immediately to Constantinople and furnish certain explanations of

SALUT de

Editeur Max Fruchtermann, Constantinople, 212.



What
we
shall
finish
up
with.

J.C.

Herzl

You

SOUVENIR POSTCARD SENT TO AUTHOR BY HERZL FROM CONSTANTINOPLE,
FEBRUARY, 1902.

The initials J. C. are those of Joseph Cowen.

your affairs." This invitation was not welcome. He was not at ease as to his public discussion of the charter; he still lacked the necessary funds; and his wife was ill. But Yildiz was insistent. Luckily an inundation temporarily broke the railroad connections between Philippopolis and Constantinople and so Herzl was able to obtain a few days respite. "As a matter of fact man," he wrote to Vambery, "I am no friend of long waits and empty talk."

Vambery, who volunteered to come to Constantinople if necessary, notified him that Yildiz wanted to discuss the Hedjas railroad. Wellich, his Constantinople agent, impressed him that Ibrahim was acting under orders of the Sultan, who was concerned about "our affairs." The Turkish situation had become acute. The unification of the Public Debt had been under public discussion since March, 1901. In July of that year, Rouvier, a former French Minister of Finance, began to negotiate for a French group with the Sultan. Then came the Mitylene crisis and France was in bad grace in Constantinople. The Sultan followed the settlement of that claim by landing troops in Kowiet on the Persian Gulf, in order to check England which by its presence there was holding the possible terminus of the much discussed and oft planned Bagdad Railroad, from Konia across the Bosphorus, over the Taurus Mountains, to Kowiet. This railroad concession was sought by Germans, who demanded as security for their contract that part of the revenues of the Public Debt be mortgaged to them.

The Turkish bondholders were mostly English and French and an Englishman was at the head of the Debt Administration. The English administrator protested against pledging of the resources, which were al-

ready mortgaged to the bondholders, without the specific agreement of the Debt Administration. Constantinople in December had issued various statements as to the attitude of Yildiz Kiosk on the Debt Unification plan, all seeming to point to the acceptance of the Rouvier project. Herzl thought his was a better plan in that it would bring new money into the country—in exchange for the charter and concessions, and that therefore it should appeal to the Sultan and his advisers—but he had no cash, and no syndicate ready to cover his financial negotiations.

Turkey, it must be remembered, was being governed by two governments headed by one man, the Sultan. Yildiz Kiosk was not only his palace but housed the *de facto* government of personal favorites. While the government *de jure* was the organization of cabinet ministers known as the Sublime Porte, whose headquarters were in Stamboul—old Constantinople. The whole apparatus of government only existed in appearance; it recorded the public official acts between Turkey and all the foreign powers. Of the manipulations in Yildiz there were only publicly known those semi-official but binding proclamations which were occasionally issued under the Sultan's seal. All of Herzl's contacts up to this time were with Yildiz Kiosk, and according to his informer the Sultan was more favorable to his solution of the Debt Unification than to the plan of Rouvier which was being negotiated with the official cabinet. The Sultan's leaning in this financial negotiation was shown in the way he kept the balance between Germany and France, by giving the Bagdad concession to the German company without pledging any of the Debt income. He was thus free to deal either with Rouvier or with Herzl. The Sultan

needed money. His civil list, the upkeep of Yildiz Kiosk, the "tent of the stars," was costing him \$20,000,000 a year, and he had no desire to pay that out of his own resources. This was the situation when Herzl, who had been kept well informed as to all of Rouvier's negotiations, was summarily ordered to come to Constantinople.

But he went to Constantinople empty handed, and under the apprehension—which later proved unwarranted—that the French were in these financial projects acting as the catspaw of Russian aggrandizement in the Near East. This time he arranged that Joseph Cowen, the Governor of the Trust, should join him, believing that an associate with a British passport was not an undesirable form of protection in the encounter he feared was about to ensue. On every visit that he made to Constantinople Herzl believed he might suffer bodily injury, if not worse. While he moved freely about the city he always advised his associates of his immediate destination and arranged that they should send out an alarm if he did not return in twelve hours. Cowen's British passport was therefore an indirect guarantee of safety for Herzl. On this occasion too, he abandoned all secrecy as to his departure from Vienna for Constantinople and he directed *Die Welt* to announce: "Following an invitation, Dr. Herzl went last week to Constantinople. He was accompanied by Mr. Joseph Cowen, one of the Governors of the Jewish Colonial Trust. During his stay in Constantinople Dr. Herzl was the guest of the Sultan."

II.

So for the fourth time in Constantinople. He went

direct on February 15 from the ship to Ibrahim's quarters in Yildiz Kiosk. The Sultan was tired from the Selamlık and the audience was postponed for a day. He was to understand, explained Ibrahim, the ambassadorial guide, interpreter and ex-general, that he was the Sultan's guest. Ibrahim accepted for himself and others the gift of fruit Herzl had brought, but which, being food, could not be offered to the Sultan.

The next day he repaired to Yildiz. What was the purpose of the Zionist Congress? queried Ibrahim. Herzl explained briefly. It was alleged, resumed Ibrahim, that Herzl had said that the Sultan had permitted the immigration of the Jews into Palestine in order to effect the re-establishment of the Jewish Kingdom. Herzl's denial was met by Ibrahim's response: "We know that Dr. Herzl could not have spoken untruth. Were it otherwise the Sultan would not have invited him to be his guest." After the presentation of gifts and a Turkish meal they began a diplomatic chess game. Tahsin Bey would have nothing to do with him. He met again Izzet Bey, the slim second secretary and "notorious favorite of the Sultan" as many have described this unusual Arab. What had he accomplished since May for the material and moral support of Turkey other than make speeches in London and Basle?

To Herzl's explanation the secretary replied that the Sultan was disposed to open his empire "to Jewish refugees of all countries, on condition that they became Ottoman subjects with all the obligations therein involved, including acceptance of Ottoman Law and military service."

"Completely?" queried Herzl.

Izzet continued this would apply "to all the Turkish

provinces except—and this only at the beginning—to Palestine.”

“I did not bat an eyelash and understood at once—this was merely a preliminary proposal, they could be traded with.” Izzet on the other hand moved another pawn, which had been also played in May. Why not unify the debt and in exchange accept a concession to all the mines, discovered and undiscovered, in the Turkish Empire? A corporation composed exclusively of Jews and Ottomans could operate the concessions. Gold, silver, coal, and petroleum were available. Herzl asked for time for reflection. The two officials whispered. Ibrahim explained Izzet would send his “confidential man” to the hotel, to discuss his “personal interests.”

Before dawn Herzl wrote the following to the Sultan, dated Feb. 16:

“The communications which Your Imperial Majesty did me the honor to forward to me yesterday by His Excellence Izzet Bey demonstrated to me a very great benevolence, to which my sincere thanks and my absolute devotion responds.

“It is this same devotion which prompts me respectfully to present the following observations:

“(1) An industrial part.

“(2) A political-financial part.

“1. Your Imperial Majesty in His great wisdom offers to confide to me the mission of establishing an Ottoman Society for the exploitation of all the mines discovered and to be discovered in His Empire.

“I can but accept in principle this proposition because it furnishes me the occasion to serve the interests of Your Imperial Majesty and to serve them loyally.

“The details naturally remain yet to be fixed.

“2. Your Imperial Majesty wishes in His generosity, so often proved to the Jews of His Empire, to extend His paternal protection to the persecuted Jews of the entire world and to receive them as Ottoman subjects into his states, but on

condition that they do not establish themselves in a mass in any particular place. And in return Your Imperial Majesty would desire to see a Jewish syndicate formed for the unification of the Debt.

"In this form the plan would seem to me to present difficulties. To carry it out considerable publicity would be necessary; and this publicity would have a bad effect, at least a doubtful effect, if restrictions were added to the welcome generously intended.

"But outside of this general consideration there are other practical reasons. It is not the poor colonists who will furnish the capital for the great financial enterprises. It is, therefore, necessary to establish a connection between Jewish colonization and the task of unification.

"This connection, in my humble opinion, can only be found in a general concession for the formation of a great society of Ottoman-Jewish colonization."

The next day, February 17, "began well and ended badly." Ibrahim began talking of "an alliance, defensive and offensive, between the Turks and the Jews." The wind seemed to have shifted favorably. Ibrahim told him that his Congress address had been denounced to the Sultan, who, however, in his great wisdom had understood and therefore had limited his *dementi* to his ambassadors to his having approved Herzl's Zionist views. They lunched.

As an aid to digestion—a real turbulent digestion—Izzet Bey appeared again. He read Herzl's letter and immediately caught Herzl's phrase "Grande Societe de Colonization Ottoman-Juive." Would the company decide the area of settlement and mass Jews there? The answer was firm. Herzl was not interested in individual protection—that was obtainable everywhere—but in national protection, more specifically he desired "a great manifestation in our favor, such as an invitation to the Jews to immigrate without any restrictions." Ibrahim

and his subordinate, the Master of Ceremonies, Ghalib Bey, seemed pleased with the idea. Izzet disappeared to present to the Sultan the Turkish translation of Herzl's letter.

The Sultan was willing, Izzet reported, to open his Empire to all Jews willing to become Ottoman subjects, but the government would, instance by instance, decide the area of settlement and Palestine should be excluded. The Ottoman Jewish company could colonize Mesopotamia, Syria, Anatolia, anywhere only not in Palestine!

"A charter without Palestine! I immediately refused."

"Ibrahim remarked, 'The two offers are very far apart!'

"Izzet said: 'What would you have? Such is life. First of all we are three thousand miles apart and at last we understand each other.'

"I said, 'I fear not; I shall sleep over it again, I will reflect until tomorrow. But I am afraid I shall not reach a solution.'

"Izzet said piously, 'Imshallah! Let us hope you may find it!'

"I said, 'Alas. It appears to me unlikely. And if I do not find it before tomorrow, I will ask His Imperial Majesty permission to leave.'"

If the invisible Sultan was obstinate so was Herzl. A charter without Palestine was no better than Palestine without the charter. The Sultan's offer reduced to an irade or formal proclamation would have been welcomed by thousands of Jews; and by most of Herzl's associates. Herzl understood this perfectly. But he felt strong enough to refuse half-a-loaf from the Sultan. Moreover while the acceptance of the offer and its utili-

zation as a "trading basis" would have served Herzl excellently, he would have had to remain for weeks, even months, in Constantinople to bring the matter to a conclusion. After sleeping on the matter he decided to reject the Sultan's overtures in the following letter:

"It is with deep and sincere regret at not being able to be of service to Your Imperial Majesty in the actual conditions that I am preparing to leave.

"I must bow respectfully to the advice which Your Imperial Majesty has offered.

"Upon reflection, I have found only one way of smoothing the difficulties. I humbly submit it to the approbation of Your Imperial Majesty. If colonization were granted without restriction I would prevail upon my friends to found a great Ottoman bank which would have its central office at Constantinople and branches in all the important cities of the Empire. This bank, whose administrative council would be composed exclusively of Moslems and Jews, would be charged with the organization of credit in Ottoman countries on modern lines. In this way we could prove to everybody that the coming of the Jews would be really an advantage, an opportunity for the interests of the entire country.

"If Your Imperial Majesty does not deem it advisable to enter into these views I would ask permission to depart tomorrow morning, as my many occupations make a long absence extremely difficult. I would be very happy if I could have the signal honor of being received again today in a farewell audience in order to be able to express my deep gratitude for the very charming reception which was accorded me.

"If Your Imperial Majesty can not grant me this favor I pray him to do me the favor of accepting two small gifts. One is a book of mine which shall be delivered after tomorrow. It is a collection of philosophic tales. The other is a writing machine with Turkish-Arabic type which I had made in America for Your Imperial Majesty. This writing machine will reach Constantinople in a fortnight.

"If today I have not been fortunate enough to find a solution to the question to be solved, perhaps the day may come later.

"May Your Imperial Majesty but remember his ever

devoted servant. I shall continue to cultivate in the great Jewish party which I represent, sentiments of respect and of love for the august person of the Caliph, the only great friend we have on earth."

The end was not yet. The translation of the letter took some time but eventually Izzet responded with a renewal of the Sultan's offer. Again Herzl rejected a restricted immigration. Again came the Sultan's answer: "He could not approve an unrestricted immigration under the administration of a land company, even if he personally wished to.

"He feared that not even a minority of his people could be won for it.

Izzet remarked smilingly, it was a mistake to believe an absolute monarch could do as he pleased. And he advised in a friendly tone: "Enter the country as a financier, establish friendly relations and later on you will do as you please." The action that accompanied these words left no doubt that what he implied was, We know what you want, we have nothing against it, neither the Sultan, nor we his confidential business associates, because we want to earn money. But we must be careful, else we'll be sent to the Devil.

Izzet continued:

"Take our finances into your hands and you will be master. Busy yourself first of all with this mining business, which is superb. There are hundreds, thousands of requests for concessions to which we do not even reply.

"To you we offer the exploitation of all the mines existing in the Empire and you will not accept it.

"Next take up the banking business. You will be given all necessary concessions and finally we will see what can be done about your colonization project.

"If you wish to follow my friendly advice here is what you

must do: Start tomorrow, speak to your friends, create this syndicate which we need, have an agreement drawn with a bank that it hold in readiness for you a sum to be paid as security when the firman of the concessions shall be promulgated. And then we will be able to conclude a treaty with you.

"For example, for the firman of the mines you will give a bond of one million francs and so forth."

This idea seemed to Herzl brilliant because he would be able to show gold to the greedy secretaries without expending it. But he answered with reserve:

"I see that you speak to me as to a friend and I will do all in my power to have your advice accepted by my friends. But I must expect that they will say: You propose things to us which we do not seek and you ignore that which we ask. That is to say, the Colonization Company. However, I shall do my utmost to please His Imperial Majesty and to gain friends for him in all ranks. I understand perfectly what you mean. We must attract interest towards us if we wish to succeed. And to this end I believe that it will be better to frame three different firmans. One for mines, one for the bank, one for the colonization company. This would give greater facility in interesting different groups. Some would profit by the first firman, others by the second and still others by the third. And there would be friends who would be in all three. You understand me."

Izzet understood Herzl's wink. He answered, "I understand you. It is not bad."

Herzl continued. "Ibrahim Bey told me that you wanted to send me your business man, Mr. Corporal. Why? Since we are friends it is not necessary to have a go-between. It is better that we deal with each other directly."

"He looked at me almost with loving eyes, so impressed was he with my frankness and said:

"You are right." But Izzet came back to his mas-

ter's needs. "The government has need at present of a million pounds. Could you procure this amount?"

"Yes!" answered Herzl immediately. "Give me colonization without restriction and you have the million with little delay. That I could offer to you at once since I have come here for that purpose. About the other affairs I must first consult my friends."

"That is not possible at present," answered Izzet.

"As we are speaking an idea comes to me," said Herzl, "I cannot admit of immigration with restrictions. But if you may not fix the number of immigrants we might do so. The Ottoman Jewish Company could bind itself with the government not to admit more than a certain number of colonists."

"How many, for instance?"

"I have not as yet made up my mind. The idea has just presented itself. What do you think about it?"

"It is perhaps not a bad one. We shall see later. But before all concern yourself with our finances!"

He was asked to remain another day and the following protocol was drawn up on February 18, 1902.

"Their Excellencies Ibrahim Bey and Izzet Bey have done me the honor to communicate to me from His Imperial Majesty, the Sultan, the following proposals:

"1. His Imperial Majesty will permit the immigration of Jews to his provinces of Asia Minor and of Mesopotamia, on condition that the immigrants obtain from their respective governments authorization to accept Ottoman subjection. The immigrants must submit to Ottoman laws and participate in military service. Immigration may not be made in mass, nor established in mass, but following the decision taken by the Imperial government in the territories which shall be designated.

"In return His Imperial Majesty desires the formation of

a Jewish financial syndicate to lend its support to the Imperial government in the following matters:

“(a) To form a mining society for the exploitation of mines in general, whose administrative council shall be composed in part of Ottoman Mussulman subjects and in part of Ottoman Jews.

“(b) To facilitate the work of unification of the public Ottoman debt under modified and advantageous conditions.

“(c) To loan to the Ottoman government the sum of money necessary to carry out its public works under modified and advantageous conditions.

“Having respectfully studied these Imperial communications, I was forced, much as I regret it, to declare that the proposed conditions appear to me to be unacceptable. But I remain at the disposal of His Imperial Majesty for other negotiations.

III.

The trip was not without its humor. The Sultan sent Herzl a bag containing £200 in gold to pay his expenses—he was literally the Sultan’s guest. Then Cowan was in danger of arrest for using an indiscreet phrase in a cable. Prior to leaving London he left sealed envelopes containing messages for the press, prepared by Herzl, which were to be opened on receipt of a cable—and then distributed. Code was prohibited in Turkey; so when he was sent for by the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs and invited to explain what “Explode bomb one successful” meant, he falteringly said the address “Laughable London” was that of an English fireworks concern whose fireworks display of the previous evening he was advising had been successful. The explanation was accepted. To support his statement—it required much effort—the English press was induced to publish a report of this Constantinople display, and the clippings forwarded to Constantinople. No Turkish official ap-

parently troubled to discover who "Laughable London" was.

The immediate result of the announcement of Herzl's visit was a widespread belief that he had secured the charter. In order to forestall difficulties in Constantinople he not only issued a denial of this, but the Actions Comite issued a depressing confidential official statement, on February 22.

"Dr. Herzl and Mr. Joseph Cowen have returned from Constantinople after a four days' sojourn there. As you have already learned from *Die Welt*, Dr. Herzl accepted an invitation of the Sultan and during his stay in Constantinople was the guest of the Sultan. The negotiations led to no definite results because the proposals made on the part of the Turkish government did not conform wholly with the conditions of our program. Under the circumstances Dr. Herzl did not see his way to accept the offers made him. On the other hand the contacts continue to be excellent, and the negotiations will be resumed."

The statement issued for public consumption alluded to the Sultan's "splendid attitude towards the Jewish people and the negotiations are progressing favorably. It is expected that the Zionists will in the near future make greater efforts than heretofore to strengthen our financial instrument i. e., for the sale of shares in the Jewish Colonial Trust." These statements were clearer than most such announcements. The depression was a reaction from the eclat with which Herzl's departure for Constantinople had been announced in *Die Welt* and to all members of the General Executive.

All this part of the bold plan to force the Sultan's hand. Izzet's advice was practical and Herzl did not ignore it, but it was part of his self-confidence that he believed that he could bend the Sultan to his will. This

policy had several great disadvantages, the public underestimation of his negotiations and the ignoring of the general Zionist attitude towards diplomatic negotiations. Had he called a conference of the leading Zionists and placed a copy of his memorandum before them Herzl would in all probability have been severely criticised by the majority for his summary rejection of the indirect road to achievement. The average Zionist conception of progress in political negotiation would have been entirely met, at the time, by the projects Herzl formally rejected and then sought to put into action.

Some members of the Actions Comite would have readily accepted the Mesopotamian Colonisation plan, but Herzl regarded that act as outside of the authority of the organization. To Vambery he gave this verdict of his negotiations: "The Sultan offers too little, and asks too much." Herzl admitted that he might have made greater headway "If I were not the servant of the *Neue Freie Presse* and could have remained longer in Constantinople." But Vambery was of the opinion that Herzl would succeed if he exercised patience. "I believe him now," mused Herzl, "but when?" His conclusion was that he would have to make two or three more trips—vague, useless trips to Constantinople. Then he would seem to lose patience and say "I will not take another step unless given the charter. At that moment I will probably obtain it."

Herzl on his return to Vienna determined to follow several lines of action. The first was to convene the Board of Directors of the Jewish Colonial Trust in order to obtain from it the agreements he wished to offer Turkey with respect to the Land Company, and further to persuade Reitlinger to organize and finance the syndi-

cate for the mine concessions. To Vambery he confessed "I am not sufficient of an Oriental trader to while away time with the consuming of countless cups of coffee," but if the production of guarantees for the land company would solve the doubts of Yildiz, then he would create them. To Izzet Bey, "the most sportive and terrible pickpocket I ever met," he wrote re-assuringly that he would produce the bonds in a few weeks, and to the Sultan he wrote February 22:

"If the entire program of concessions for immigration and of the financial services to be rendered on our side cannot be realized at once—perhaps a way of beginning action may be found.

"After mature reflection, I believe I have found an expedient.

"Your Imperial Majesty wishes to allow, according to the proces-verbal drawn up the 8th of February at Yildiz Kiosk between their Excellencies, Ibrahim Bey and Izzet Bey and myself, the immigration of Jews to his provinces of Asia Minor and of Mesopotamia not in masses but in small groups. I must say sincerely that I do not believe this concession—maganimous though it be—sufficient to create the great movement in the Jewish world which is necessary to remedy all the financial needs of the Empire. But we might attempt it and await the results. Only, so as not to make the restriction too noticeable, the firman should contain this clause: That the immigrants must be represented by committees instituted by me in the different countries.

"In this way it would not be necessary to make it publicly known that immigration is limited. On the other hand a system could be established. The Imperial government would assign to me the abandoned lands, and immigration would be accomplished in an orderly manner and to the number confidentially set by the Imperial government.

"In return I would form financial syndicates according to the wishes of Your Imperial Majesty, first for the exploitation of mines, and second for the establishment of a bank for the Ottoman countries.

"In order to show that my proposals do not lack a serious basis and that we can proceed with the arranging of details I shall before the 15th of March have deposits made in several banks on the understanding that they are to be paid to the Ottoman government upon my order.

"I intend to deposit two or three million francs. These sums will be the guarantees for the definite arrangements. These deposits will remain at my disposal until the 15th of May."

Reitlinger, however, gave him "good advice" instead of assistance, and so he had to exercise pressure on the Trust Directorate, which the Vienna Actions Comite did not think would comply because some of the directors were more anxious to do exchange business in Russia than to finance Turkey. So he turned to Marmorek and Nordau for advice. Wolffsohn had felt annoyed at having been replaced by Cowen in the Constantinople trip and showed it. February 26 Herzl wrote the former a sharp but not unfriendly letter:

"I have drawn you nearer to me than anyone else, because you seemed to me the ideal of faith and a blind confident follower. I must be leader effectively not only in making proclamations and during conferences. These are not of great importance to me, because I am neither an idiot nor a comedian. As long as you follow, and followed me, I advanced you. Today we are on the point where the Sultan negotiates with me as from one power to the other. . . .

"It is a matter of fact that in the course of these years, I have acquired a necessary general knowledge of finance, and I understand as much about it as Kann or any of the other directors.

"I have addressed you most rudely and have expected more of you than of anyone else. . . . That expressed my confidence in you. . . . You were my man.

"Nowadays it is enough that I wish or order a thing, that you, like a contradictory woman, are against it. This has accustomed me not to rely on you.



HERZL AT THE BASLE BRIDGE.

*Portrait in oil of Herzl in Chicago, Illinois, Herzl High School by N. P. Steinberg.
Copied from the photo study made by E. M. Lillien at the Fifth Congress.*

"Now to the facts—all, of course, in confidence—I have refused the Sultan's propositions because he offered too little and demanded too much. You certainly know of like situations in the lumber trade. What I have ahead of me is worse than a horse trade. Enough we have not broken, though I refused the first bid. The Sultan will give me in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia that which we wish to have in Erez Israel. On the other hand he demands that I organize financial syndicates to which he will grant valuable concessions.

"After having registered my refusal I was informed that I might provide guarantees first for the earnestness of my negotiations and second to improve the situation. In other words, I should deposit bonds in various banks to cover the different proposals. There can be three agreements, each for a million francs.

"I propose that the Trust take the necessary measures so that three million francs are at its disposal in three of its deposit banks. These deposits will not be transferred until the agreements with the Sultan are effected. I would therefore like to receive the following credit letter from these banks without it appearing that the Jewish Colonial Trust has made the deposits:

"Dr. Th. Herzl, Vienna:

"We hold to your disposition until May 15, the sum of one million francs, which we shall transfer to the Turkish Government upon your instructions.

"I must be able to show these letters. The conditions under which the Trust will act will be recorded at the meetings of the Directors and the Governors on May 17.

"... Have all this prepared for the meeting so that no single day is lost. The Board may conclude that the agreements will never be realized. We must, however, prove to the Sultan that we are ready and convey the sense of assurance through these harmless letters of credit. Do you understand me?"

All that was to be risked was the half percent interest the Trust was getting in some banks on its deposit accounts. This loss "I will ignore if the white deer comes within shot, and I will lose no sleep in keeping my

powder dry." And he wound up his letter with a characteristic observation: "I did not found the Jewish Colonial Trust for foolish tricks, jesting, trifling and discount business in Minsk, but for Erez Israel, for the Charter, for all that which guides thitherwards." He forwarded a steady stream of letters to Constantinople during the interval prior to the Trust meeting, though he reflected that the Turks would probably use his guarantees as a means of borrowing from other banks. The situation in Constantinople was undergoing rapid changes. For his own reasons the Sultan was coquetting with Constans and Rouvier and Herzl feared that his effort would be nullified. Nordau, too, urged him not to go too far in these financial arrangements, but he went steadily ahead and on March 17 the Trust Board met in Vienna and complied with all his wishes. "Ussischkin," he writes, "became very angry and withdrew from everything." Herzl immediately informed the Turkish Ambassador in Vienna that he was in possession of the letters of credit and wrote to the Sultan the day following that his associates were deeply touched at the Sultan's magnanimous attitude towards the Jews, but the offer of restricted immigration "they thought would produce a disagreeable effect on public opinion."

IV.

In the meantime the Vienna Allianz was greatly disturbed by the renewal of emigration from Roumania, and the constant attacks being made by Dr. Elias of Mulhausen in *Die Welt* on the Alliance Israelite Universelle. Herzl had no faith in the advances made to him but he approved the proposition of the Vienna organization that it should invite the Paris organization, the

I. C. A., and himself to a conference in Frankfort to discuss the situation. When the Viennese officials showed reluctance to proceed with this policy he attended their meeting and created a great stir with his clear exposition of a practical policy.

Alexander Marmorek and Nordau broadened out this plan, and then formally urged Narcisse Leven, as President of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, in view of the new repressive legislation adopted by Roumania against the Jews and the unspeakable misery of the fugitives crowding every frontier to convene a conference of delegates "of all the Jewish societies and organizations in Europe, as well as representative Jews known for their interest in the subject" to discuss what action could be taken to relieve these unfortunate victims of persecution. The plan was further supported from London, but without practical results.

Herzl wrote the author: "Your suggestion, which covers mine to the Allianz, favoring the convening of a conference of all philanthropic organizations I naturally regard as right. But I have no hope of the gentlemen acceding to it. If you are successful in once again warming Montagu for us that would, of course, be worth while. Only I am sceptical about it and I will be very glad if you show me that I am mistaken."

The publication of the annual balance sheet of the Jewish Colonial Trust resulted in some editorial criticism on the part of the London *Jewish Chronicle*, which was eagerly copied by the anti-Zionist press in Germany. Herzl immediately proposed to sue all these papers for libel. "As we propose to sue the *Jewish Chronicle* for its unheard of suspicions," he wrote the author, "I ask you to reflect whether as a member of the Actions Comite

you can afford to continue writing for that paper . . . but I will take no action till I hear from you." The *Chronicle* explained apologetically and the incident passed over.

The report to Ibrahim that the letters of credit were available was accompanied by a gift for the Sultan, a typewriting machine with Arabic characters made in the United States under the supervision of Dr. Gottheil, but this compliment did not improve matters. The Viennese Ambassador had notified Tahsin Bey of Herzl's report that the three million francs were available. Tahsin, who had ignored Herzl in Yildiz, affected to know nothing about the matter. The secretaries juggled with each other, and finally Herzl was advised to withhold all action and attempt nothing new until he received new advices. Herzl's agent wrote: "Izzet was leaning out of the window and he called me to him and after I told him I had seen Tahsin he said, 'Write the doctor to take the gold back, we shall at the proper moment point out the way he should follow.'" He was officially informed by Tahsin that this deposit of three million francs "was based on a misunderstanding. I knew that. I only wanted to show them money—so that they would not forget me. So closes this volume of my political romance."

V.

In May he thought out still a new method of approach to the Sultan. The Turkish government, he ventured to suggest, was experiencing difficulties with the Young Turks. In Europe the student youth was playing a role in creating public opinion. Jewish youth was conservative; "the establishment of a Jewish University

in Your Imperial Majesty's Empire, for example in Jerusalem, would help solve this problem and foster culture and science." To Ibrahim he added: "The execution of this project will not require the expenditure of any money on the part of the Imperial Government." He wrote in a similar strain to Izzet on May 3, adding, "this task presents no difficulties. What do you think?" Izzet was quick to answer on May 12. He wrote, in a letter full of errors and solecisms:

"... Your letter concerning the demand for the creation of a Jewish University in Jerusalem has been laid at the foot of the Throne.

"The fidelity and devotion of the Jews to his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, my august Master, and their sympathy for his Empire is an incontestable truth. As the Imperial Government is occupied at the present moment with several projects having as their purpose to improve the financial situation of the Treasury and to obtain new resources for it, the aid of Jewish financiers may be useful in making the Treasury task easier. In order that you may profitably solicit advantages from the Imperial Government, I beg you, by Sovereign Command, to lay at the foot of the Throne what are the services that the financiers in question can render in this regard to the advantage of the State."

The Rouvier Debt combination plan was not working successfully and Izzet was anxious to have Herzl on the scene, in all probability to be used as a lever to get better terms from Rouvier. There were therefore more messages.

Herzl replied:

"All these things—the University as well as the financial matters—cannot very well be dealt with except orally.

"If His Imperial Majesty, therefore, desires to hear my proposals, I am ready to betake myself to Constantinople next

week. This date recommends itself to me because I must go to London in the month of June.

"The matter of the University at Jerusalem might serve as a screen for the other matters, for your Majesty's enemies would put obstacles in the way of the execution of any project recognized as an improvement of the present situation."

But Herzl, while he was urging another audience with the Sultan, proceeded to Berlin and then to Paris, from where he sent another message to Constantinople.

"I have the honor to announce to you that I am ready to take up the question of the unification of the debt in conformity with the desires expressed by His Imperial Majesty, the Sultan, in order to obtain more advantageous conditions for the Imperial Government. I am also disposed to cause a syndicate to be formed by my friends for the purpose of exploiting the mines and the establishment of a new bank in Turkey whose council of administration would be composed in part of natives.

"The service that we shall render, and which the high wisdom of His Imperial Majesty will appreciate, shall set the measure of the favors that your Majesty in his magnanimity will accord to the Jewish nation."

Notwithstanding the opposition of Lord Rothschild and the Anglo-Jewish communal organizations, Herzl was invited to appear as an expert before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration. He therefore proceeded to London determined on strife or unity with Rothschild, but he was recalled to Vienna by the death of his father, on June 9.

The first message from his wife read: "Papa very ill. Come at once Vienna."

Herzl immediately became pessimistic, decided that his father was dead and in that mood turned to his diary and made these entries:

"That is death. It was clear to me immediately."

"Obtaining information as to the next train, telegraphing, packing absorbed two hours. The rest of the night will pass more slowly.

"This book must bear the brunt. I believe to my good father, who did continually much for me, I was a true, thankful, respectful son, always.

"How much did he suffer for me, stand by me, console me, after he provided my education and supported me.

"The trips on which I learned so much are all due to him.

"I am no longer at home, for his eyes are closed.

"I have always hurried to tell my parents good news whilst it was still warm. I was right, much comes too late.

"My dear one did not read the end of *Oldnewland*.

"How much did I remain in his debt, although I was not a bad son.

"What a support and counsellor he was from day to day.

"He stood like a tree beside me. The tree is gone.

". . . If my mother will, I shall transfer to London. What have I to seek in Vienna?"

A few weeks later he added when he returned to London to appear before the Commission: "It must be agreed that now I will succeed, because my father will not be there to rejoice."

And in the meantime the Turkish Ambassadors in London and Vienna were looking for him and when he again reached London he postponed meeting the Ambassador—"he had other appointments."

CHAPTER XV.

IN QUEST OF A CHARTER.

Meets Lord Rothschild—Expert before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration—Ultimatum from the Sultan—Herzl drafts plans for Cyprus and Sinai Peninsula—Again in Constantinople—Escorted to the Grand Vizier—Inconclusive negotiations.

AN AGITATION favoring restriction of alien immigration in England, largely provoked by Major Evans Gordon, M. P., in which effort Arnold White assisted ably, had resulted in the creation of the usual parliamentary method of ventilating a question, the appointment of a Royal Commission which held public hearings. Thanks to the efforts of Leopold J. Greenberg, who for years had been publicly identified as an opponent of restriction and as a critic of all the government reports and statistics issued on the subject, Herzl was summoned as an "expert" to give evidence before the Commission. The fact that he, a foreigner, was called by the Commission was an acknowledgment of the seriousness with which British authorities had come to regard Zionism. But the Zionist leader was not allowed to appear without some attempt to put him in "leading strings." This seemed the more necessary in London, because the Roumanian persecutions were pressing hard on the conscience of Anglo-Jewish leaders. The Anglo-Jewish Association, whose task it was to alleviate as far as possible such political evils, had met and reported that it had failed to bring about any amelioration and had no hope of changing the depressing conditions that prevailed in Eastern Europe.

It could suggest nothing but "marking time." How would Herzl act? Lord Rothschild undertook to advise him.

But anxious as he was to appear before the Commission, Herzl on his return to London was still more keen to meet Baron Nathaniel Rothschild—the first Lord Rothschild, the lay leader of Anglo-Jewry. When his Lordship was first approached in 1899 to meet Herzl he asked, "To what club does he belong?" and every subsequent effort in 1900 and 1901 to have these two men meet failed. The door remained closed. Isaac Seligman, Sir Francis Montefiore, Joseph Cowen, Leopold Greenberg, and Israel Zangwill all had attempted to open it. Lord Rothschild in 1896 told the author "Palestine! That's my cousin Edmond's business," and yet he had prevented Montagu wrecking the Trust project—perhaps only because it was Montagu.

Now that the government was taking up Herzl the situation was wholly changed. Lord Rothschild was anxious to meet the Zionist leader and invited him to his office as soon as he arrived in London.

"A good-looking Anglo-Jewish old gentleman with sympathetic large Jewish eyes," who did not let him wait a moment when he arrived at New Court, Swithins Lane, hard by the Mansion House.

His Lordship did not fear the growth of anti-Semitism in England. He was no Zionist and Palestine would not be obtained. He was an Englishman and wished to remain one, and then his Lordship began to explain. He wished to direct the line of argument Herzl should take before the Alien Commission! He then began to go over the whole matter in his careful way.

For a few minutes Herzl listened, stupefied, to this

attempt at coaching. Then he raised his voice sufficiently to force my lord to silence.

"I will tell the commission what I think proper, and of what I am convinced. That is my custom and I will adhere to it this time."

A battle royal. Rothschild sought for a weak spot. How would Herzl reply if he were asked about the alleged £800,000 the Jewish-owned press of the Continent had received from Leyds, the Boer leader, to maintain an anti-British attitude in Europe.

Herzl did not expect to be asked such stupid questions. He would answer: "Publish the list of those who took the money."

His Lordship took another tack. How would he meet the observation, "Dr. Herzl is the best Jew, and admits that a Jew cannot be an Englishman."

"I will permit myself no arrogance," was the swift response. "I will describe the misery of the Jews in Eastern Europe. The people must die or go. We know the Roumanian misery since 1897. The petitions to the Zionist Congress have been ignored. It is probably worse in Galicia. There 700,000 are suffering. They will also begin to move.

My Lord objected; such observations would lead to the restriction of immigration.

"I grew massive: Decidedly I will say it! Absolutely! You can depend on that!"

His Lordship sent for his brother Leopold, who managed the family's large participation in Jewish communal charity. Herzl repeated his views.

"My Lord moaned, 'That's what he wants to say to the Commission.' " Herzl refused to budge. It would be wicked to limit his statements to what might result in

further restrictions, but it would be equally wicked not to make the truth known. "And I have a plan, which I will present to the Commission."

To overcome his obduracy he was invited to lunch. The three brothers, Nathaniel, Leopold, and Alfred, and one of Lord Rosebery's sons were present. Herzl remained uninfluenced. After coffee he crossed over to a desk, and asked, "Do you want to listen to my scheme?"

"Yes."

"I pushed my chair towards his better ear and said, 'I want from the English government a charter for colonisation.'"

"Don't say charter. The word sounds badly just now."

"Call it how you will. I want to found a Jewish colony in a British possession."

"Take Uganda!"

"No. I can only take—and I wrote on a slip of paper, 'Sinai Peninsula, Egyptian Palestine, Cyprus'—and added, 'Do you favor that?'"

"Much!" answered his lordship.

Then again Herzl wrote, "Will you prevent the Sultan obtaining Rouvier's gold?"

Lord Rothschild said, "I prevented Roumania obtaining money, but this I cannot prevent because the Powers wish it."

"I said, The Sultan offered me Mesopotamia."

Lord Rothschild, astonished, "And did you refuse it?"

"Yes."

When he came to London in June to appear before the Commission he knew Lord Rothschild had opposed the appearance of the "wind bag." That suggested peace

or war with Rothschild, and he drew up his alternative plan for a charter for Cyprus.

That afternoon the Turkish Ambassador informed Herzl the Sultan desired him to come to Constantinople immediately. No longer was he playing with mere pawns in his great continuous chess game.

In his own judgment his halting use of English made a bad impression.

Monday, July 9, Herzl appeared in the astonishing role of "expert" before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration. Lord James of Hereford, a member of the cabinet, presided, and the other members present were Lord Rothschild, Mr. Alfred Lyttleton, Major W. C. Evans Gordon, the instigator of the Commission, Mr. Henry Norman, M. P., and an editor of the *Daily Chronicle*, Sir Kenelm Digby, and Mr. William Vallence.

The attitude of the members of the Commission toward the Jewish leader was respectful. His followers, many of whom were present, sensed a change in the public communal attitude towards Zionism when Lord Rothschild was observed to greet Herzl as a personal friend. Major Evans Gordon read Herzl's prepared statement and cross-examined him in English, now and then aiding Herzl with a word in German. Herzl offered the commission a resume of his views on the Jewish Question, quoting his own *Jewish State* on the basic definition, "The Jewish Question exists wherever Jews live in perceptible numbers."

Herzl met his cross-examination squarely. Major Gordon wanted him to agree that there was no anti-Semitism involved in the restriction of immigration. Herzl answered, "I would not be the crown witness for

¹See Appendix 5.

anything against the Jews." He defined his position on Jewish nationalism¹ and declared that in his judgment the money spent on the Baron de Hirsch's efforts "was rather money wasted."

He had not changed from what he wrote Baron de Hirsch in 1895. The settlements in Argentine were "a failure because when you want a great settlement you must have a flag and an idea."

Herzl made his Zionist program clear to the Commission and then Lord Rothschild took up the question of patriotism, which resulted in the following colloquy.

Lord Rothschild, "The Commission may take it that a Jew or a body of Jews may share your views about Zionism and still be devoted citizens?"

Herzl, "Yes, and far more so than those who are not Zionists."

To his son Hans, Herzl described his experience. "I passed my examination before the Royal Commission pretty well, but my English was not very good. You know that feeling from your Latin. Let it serve as a warning to make up for deficiencies. You and I must do everything with distinction."

II

And now he became a social lion in earnest. He was a guest at Leopold Rothschild's garden party, a great social event, at Gunnesbury; "probably this will serve Zionism more with all the 'upper Jews' than all speeches and acts." Lord James of Hereford was seriously interested in the Zionist programme. He discussed with Herzl the Sinai Peninsula and the Cyprus projects. If Lord Rothschild supported him, the cabinet minister thought

¹See Vol. I P. 78

Herzl could succeed. The government would, however, give no financial support. Again Herzl lunched with Lord Rothschild to whom he said, "Call together your city men. Create this Jewish company, and you will render England a great patriotic service. But no philanthropy—it must be business."

Rothschild urged him to commit the plan to paper so that he might be able to discuss it with Chamberlain. And he added: "But under no circumstances do I want to make a big experiment. Only small, at most 25,000 settlers." Herzl answered: "I will only do it large, or not at all." The drafting of the project was interrupted and he informed Rothschild, "The gentleman below [the Sultan] again sent me an urgent wire yesterday. I had to wire him back that I shall leave the day after Saturday."

"Now I have only hours left in London. It is uncertain when I shall be able to come back, because the plague is rampant and I shall probably have to go into quarantine. An interview with Chamberlain would seem to me highly desirable. He could receive me, if need be, in his slippers. Tell him that in any case it would be to England's advantage to see me before my departure, because I am persona gratissima and can directly touch on any topic I choose, including English interests.

"As regards the promised prospectus for the creation of a Jewish colony, I am working it out today. It will be short and clear, the political part for Chamberlain in English and the financial part for you in German."

Constantinople was calling. Costaki Anthopoulos Pascha was chasing after him with messages. He met the Ambassador who read to him the following cable:

"His Majesty the Sultan says that Dr. Herzl has expressed the desire to render loyal and faithful service in so far as con-

cerns the Unification of the Debt. You are pressed to see him at once and to remind him that any disclosure of this matter might be harmful to the Imperial government; therefore, the most absolute secrecy is requisite. If he is sure that he can obtain a more advantageous combination for the Unification of the Debt than the one proposed by Mr. Rouvier—time may have been lost and the purpose may not have been properly understood by the protracted correspondence—and upon condition that these communications entail no commitment by the government, if he were sure that he could come to an understanding with one of the Jewish banks, and without making known the purpose of his trip to Constantinople, you are invited to tell him that in case he should render any service in augmentation of the benefits of the Unification of the finances, and the efforts put forth by him should meet with Imperial satisfaction, you will tell him that in conformity with the ancient system of the Imperial government concerning the welfare of its subjects it is evident that His Majesty the Sultan will give the Israelites also proofs of sympathy and protection. By Imperial command you are invited to communicate the preceding to Dr. Herzl and we await your reply as soon as possible."

It was Herzl's turn to tell the Ambassador how difficult it was to meet the indecision of Yildiz. He had been prepared to act, but it would be indelicate to appear as the competitor of Rouvier. At the same time he could truthfully impress Rothschild with the explanation, "The Turkish Ambassador has been with me for so long today that I could find no time to work out the promised prospectus."

To Herzl's answer, the Ambassador received the following reply:

"It does not appear from your report that Dr. Herzl has come to an understanding with the banks and that he has prepared a basis. As the government has just decided on the Unification of the Debt by an issue of thirty-two millions of obligations and since it is natural that the government will not

change that decision as long as it is not assured of a more advantageous combination, in that case there is no occasion for Dr. Herzl to come to Constantinople. . . .

"If Herzl can now insure an advantageous combination, solid, strong, and definite with an issue of thirty millions, he is invited to submit it without delay."

Struggling with both problems at once, Herzl on July 12 sent Lord Rothschild this detailed outline of his new project.

"To avoid any misunderstandings, now and in the future, I want to point out that I have made this plan because you have declared yourself against Palestine. You are the greatest effective power that our people have had since their dispersion and I think it my duty to put my modest advice at your disposal in case you wish to do something really effective for our poor unfortunates. Considerations of principle do not prevent me from rendering any direct assistance, in whichever form this assistance may be practical. Still more, I will co-operate to my best knowledge.

"Apart from this human interest, however, I have also a political one. A great Jewish colonisation east of the Mediterranean would strengthen our effort for Palestine. The Jews in the English colony of the Jewish Eastern Company will be just as loyal Zionists as the far away colonists of the Hirsch colonies in the Argentine.

"Whether I will be able to help personally in the execution of the project; that is to say, whether I can obtain the support of our Zionist organizations for this, depends on the decision of my party. I will convoke the members of the different committees of all countries to a confidential conference and submit the question to them.

"Apart from this, however, I have still a second plan for you, which could be carried out together with the first one, but also separately. This one is entirely confidential. It refers to Mesopotamia.

"As I have already told you the Sultan has offered me territory for a settlement in Mesopotamia. This happened last February when I went to Constantinople at his invitation. At that time I declined the offer because he excluded Palestine.

I could, however, re-open the question tomorrow if need be, because we are still on excellent terms. In return, a certain financial transaction with him would be necessary. A certain party, whom I will name personally, is already making efforts in that direction. The Sultan would prefer to give it to me, because he knows that I, personally, am not interested financially. Naturally, he would also like more favorable conditions. But even in case these more favorable conditions should be granted to him, the transaction would still net about two million pounds profit.

"This profit could go to the Jewish Company, so that it could start, right from the beginning, with a sure profit of two millions. I think this would facilitate matters.

"I do not know whether you are sufficiently informed about me; at any rate, I would like to make it quite clear that I have no financial interest whatever in this transaction. I am not a financial go-between. All I wish is that a suitable amount be added to the Jewish National Fund in case this profitable transaction should be carried out. However, I do not make this a *condicio sine qua non*.

"Personally I would prefer the first plan, because there is less assurance of future political security in Mesopotamia. I am only offering you the latter plan in case it should be impossible to found the Jewish Colony in the British Possessions on account of the refusal of the British Government, or owing to non-cooperation on the part of financial interests.

"If you care to have the financial details of the Mesopotamian project I will give them to you verbally."

He suggested that the Jewish (Eastern) Company should have a capital of £10,000,000, of which twenty percent should be paid in. Lord Rothschild should organize the Board of Directors, and the settlers should be among the stockholders. The colonisation was to be organized and immigration regulated. Work on plans and details could begin immediately.

But the Sultan was cabling insistently. An "ultimatum" demanding a detailed proposition on the debt unification was handed to Herzl by the Ambassador. It

was the conclusion of the previous message which had only just come to hand, on July 12.

"We can wait for his answer at the furthest only until Tuesday morning. For it is not permissible to defer the decision taken for much longer. Moreover, it is evident that nothing can be done in this important financial matter without the participation of the Jewish banks.

"We await, therefore, without fail, the definitive answer containing all necessary details. We cannot give opportunity for any correspondence beyond Tuesday morning."

Herzl's answer was a long statement.

"I have succeeded in winning my friends to a favorable disposition in spite of the incident of the deposit which took place last spring. I take the liberty to remind you of the facts. After my return from Constantinople, upon official advice, I deposited three million francs in three banks, in Paris, London, and Berlin, which were to serve as guarantees for serious negotiations. As soon as I presented these credentials to His Excellency M— N— Bey at Vienna, I received an order to withdraw these deposits. My friends were somewhat offended by this incident. Nevertheless, I have now convinced them, and they are ready in principle to go into the proposed question. But as for giving all the necessary details by tomorrow morning, that is wholly impossible. An affair of this importance cannot be patched up in a few hours. . . .

"Under these conditions it is impossible to bring seriously to a head an operation for which Mr. Rouvier had more months than I have days."

To a further pressing message, which indicated that Yildiz Kiosk and the Sublime Porte were working in accord on the unification plan Herzl wrote again at length.

"It is possible to effect a saving of two million pounds in the issue of the obligations. His Majesty has only to declare to the group now in charge of the matter his formal and absolute resolution not to conclude the unification otherwise than

by an issue of thirty millions instead of thirty-two millions and that without changing the other conditions.

"The group is too far advanced to be able to withdraw. According to my information the group, having already acquired a certain quantity of securities, finds itself *under a greater necessity to conclude* the affair than does the Imperial Government. . . .

"The group having on its hands a quantity of securities, must accept what is now proposed. . . .

"1. The group will accept of necessity the reduction of two millions of securities in order not to lose other profits.

"2. The group will withdraw from the affair. Then the government of your Imperial Majesty will have avoided a bad deal. After a brief interval another group formed by my friends will come forward to take up the matter.

"It would be useless and even harmful to let the present group know that there is another combination in reserve, because then, *knowing that there will be need of the securities* accumulated in their hands, they would not yield.

"If Your Majesty says simply, 'Either you will effectuate the unification for me with thirty millions of securities, or I do not proceed a step toward such an operation,' then they will be forced to yield.

"But if your Majesty tells them, 'I have another combination,' then they wait in order to sell their accumulated securities at a higher price. I hope that your Majesty in his high wisdom discerns with what absolute disinterestedness I serve his interests. . . .

"If they withdraw, so much the better for the interests of your Imperial Majesty, and the thing will be done by friends sincerely devoted. Only we shall have to let some weeks pass before showing ourselves.

"It seems superfluous to me to give details today of our propositions which have as their basis the issuance of only thirty millions of obligations. . . . And if your Imperial Majesty does me the honor of following my counsel, the complete plan will be submitted within a few weeks to your Majesty directly and orally."

Thus he was endeavoring to obtain another breathing spell in which he could bend the situation to his will.

Meanwhile Rothschild informed him that no money would be available for a large settlement of Jews anywhere. The matter had to be considered carefully. "Rubbish," wrote Herzl in his diary. In his letter in response dated July 21, he gave a delightful interpretation of his idea of "careful study."

"You say my proposaks for colonisation require a longer period of study. There I agree with you entirely. I have been thinking myself that a settlement should only be started in early spring—February or March—at the time of summer plowing, as this is the shortest period to the first harvest. The ground, however, should already be secured in the autumn and the winter months should be used for preparation. The details of this I have already worked out a long time ago."

Then he began to persuade Lord Rothschild as he once tried to interest Baron de Hirsch:

"I would be so glad not to have to consider your reply as a refusal. Who will help our poor people, if not you?"

"You are a good man. Having made your personal acquaintance, I am convinced of it. Be a great man as well. Success for our transaction could only be guaranteed if undertaken with sufficient means so that room be left for expansion.

"For a penny tube from Piccadilly to Cornhill sixteen million pounds sterling are easily raised. Concerns of ten million pounds sterling for industrial enterprises are not fairy tales in this American epoch of ours.

"A land company, which would forever settle the burning 'Jewish Question,' should not be able, under Lord Rothschild's leadership, to get that much money together?"

"Yes, I do know, what is perplexing in it. The whole thing has too decidedly a charitable aspect to make it possible to consider and present it as a business proposition.

"However, that is the achievement that would yield you an imperishable reward.

"As I understand you, my Lord, you raise few objections when you are asked to contribute ten or twenty thousand pounds toward some great charitable fund. I have been told

that you actually "give away" over one hundred thousand pounds annually.

"This, however, is not a question of 'giving away money,' not a cent. All that is needed would be to lend your authority, your influence, your power, for a probably profitable transaction.

"Do you consider the prestige of your house as so small that you doubt even for a minute the possibility of getting together ten million pounds from the Jews of the whole world, if you accept the leadership?

"Your cousins in Paris could not undertake such a transaction at the present moment. They are influenced indirectly by Mr. Drumont, and woe unto them if they should not show themselves as true French patriots in the financial difficulties of the Russian Government, which is making pariahs out of our people.

"Your position, my lord, is entirely different. At least still today, before anti-Semitism has seeped through England.

"Today you still have elbow-room. Yes, you may give your government great credit for the fact that the English influence will be strengthened through a large settlement of our people in the East of the Mediterranean at a central point of Egyptian and Persian-Indian interests.

"For how much longer, however, do you think that these advantages, now available, will remain unnoticed? Then we Jews, we cunning, always jeered at Jews, will be left in the lurch. The thing can be done. Big and quick, through the Land and Commerce Company, of which I sent you a rough sketch.

"Hirsch's undertaking was play, bluff and incapable of expansion. A commonwealth does not exist of agriculturists only. Whatever has not already been used up of these millions will necessarily have to go toward an all embracing settlement. I would not care to count upon it, however, just as I would not care to count upon any other benefactor.

"The Land Company can only be successful if founded upon economic basis and not upon 'Rachmones' [pity]. Perhaps I shall succeed in getting financially valuable concessions. Then you will hear from me again. . . ."

A plausible letter but far from convincing to the

Rothschilds who had never thought of Jewish affairs other than in terms of charity.

III.

With Wolffsohn he proceeded after another exchange of telegrams to Constantinople, arriving in Therapia on July 25. "The bakshish collectors at the entrance of Yildiz grinned at me with confidence. They know the gold rain of my departure."

This time Tahsin was the first official to greet him. He announced that Herzl was the Sultan's guest and an equipage would be at his disposal. Where was his plan? He returned to Therapia and wrote till midnight.

"If Rouvier's proposal is not accepted by your Imperial Majesty the French Minister cannot become troublesome to the Ottoman government, because the opponents of the French Cabinet would be only too happy to declare that the Republic was compelled to serve the interests of a group of financiers. On the other hand, if the Rouvier project is adopted, Mr. Rouvier will have to beware of appearing politically too friendly to Turkey, as he would be attacked on the ground of having been won over by financial interests.

"In a word, in my humble opinion, there is no need of haste in deciding one way or the other. . . .

"The first condition, therefore, for a new combination is the rejection pure and simple of the Rouvier project. After which Your Imperial Majesty can either enter into a new understanding with the Rouvier group, which then will be less exacting, or else with my friends, who will not appear until after the rejection of the Rouvier project. This first for a reason of financial etiquette. They do not believe it proper to make official proposals as long as the government has so far advanced, if it has not practically completed, negotiations with another group. Second, from a motive of prudence. If it became known that my friends are immediately available the rate will be so raised that not only the work of my friends but any other unification enterprise will for a very long time become impossible. But if Your Imperial Majesty declared that

he had given up all idea of unifying the Debt, because the advantages to the Empire were not clear enough (which, in fact, is the case), then the ground will be cleared in a short time, the rate will lower and we could then proceed with some hope of success.

"My friends are prepared to carry out this unification along the lines of the Rouvier project itself, which gives to the Imperial Government a certain latitude for increasing the revenues of the debt in its own interest. My friends would undertake this work on the basis of a payment of thirty millions of new obligations. . . .

"In return the Imperial Government should grant us a charter or concession for Jewish colonization in Mesopotamia such as Your Imperial Majesty deigned to offer me last February, adding the territory of Haifa and its environs in Palestine.

"If Your Imperial Majesty should judge it not to the purpose to accept my view on the advantages to the Empire of Jewish colonization I am nevertheless still at his service as a devoted and absolutely disinterested servant. In the present state of affairs this is a very advantageous transaction.

"The private treasury of Your Imperial Majesty can buy at a lowered price a certain quantity of the bonds which will come upon the market as soon as the Rouvier project shall have failed.

"This stock could serve later on (at a much higher figure) for the unification which necessarily must be made some day. I obligate myself to have this carried out with absolute discretion and as advantageously as possible.

"It is true that unification itself is only a phase in restoring your finances. The work is slow and complicated in whatever way it is done. The results are not immediate. The revenues to be created will consist only in the increased cost to the taxpayers. If I am permitted to voice my humble opinion I believe it would be better to create new resources, and let the work of unification drag for some time; let it be ignored in order to make it the more profitable later.

"These resources would be, amongst others, the exploitation of mines, of the forests, and perhaps of electricity.

"My friends are ready to start to work and to serve Your Imperial Majesty honestly.

"The country enriched by its industries, the taxpayers strengthened, could then more easily bear the increased costs

which would come only after the unification of the debt.

"I pray Your Imperial Majesty to excuse the hasty manner in which I have made my observations, as I am a little tired from my trip.

"I hope to be able again to speak to Your Imperial Highness of my ideas, which are those of a sincere friend of this beautiful country which can also become rich and prosperous."

For Herzl the strain of these negotiations, which involved many minor conferences with officials, was this time relieved by residence on a small yacht. Much mystery was made about his proposal, and the Council of State was summoned to consider it. His impression was that he was being used by the Sultan to obtain easier terms from Rouvier. He was requested for the first time to visit the Sublime Porte, the headquarters of the official Turkish government, and met the Grand Vizier. He was escorted there by Ibrahim and the Sultan's Chamberlain, Aarif Bey, followed by three secret service agents.

"After a long wait the door opened and a little, stout, chubby old gentleman in a faded sleeping robe came out and bade me come nearer." That was Said Pascha, a cool, able official. The discussion followed closely Herzl's letter to the Sultan. The Grand Vizier pressed him to name his financial supporters but Herzl clung to 'financial etiquette.' The discussion he summarized in another letter to the Sultan.

"I have the honor to submit to Your Imperial Majesty the minutes of the interview I had yesterday with His Highness, the Grand Vizier.

"I explained our propositions completely to His Highness. At first I recalled to him the fact that it was only on the 11th day of July that I was notified by His Excellency, the Ambassador at London, of the conditions Your Majesty desired.

The invitation to proceed to Constantinople that I had received the previous week was accompanied with the instruction not to speak to any one of the purpose of my journey.

"From the 11th day of July to the 15th of July, that is in four days, I was to give a precise answer to the question whether it was possible to effectuate the operation upon the basis of thirty millions of new securities. I answered affirmatively on the 11th of July. There was no time to work out a new project, which, moreover, would probably have required weeks of study by the Imperial Government.

"Under these circumstances we simply accepted the Rouvier project, thus retaining the advantages that the Imperial Government sees in it and we have offered to reduce it by two millions. Thus, Your Imperial Majesty's demand, was served and the burden of the debt that would encumber the Imperial Government would actually be only thirty millions, even though a nominal issue of thirty-two millions might be necessary. . . .

"We, on the other hand, have asked for a charter or concession for a colonisation company for Mesopotamia and for a small part of Palestine. This company would naturally pay a tax which would be calculated per family of colonists.

"His Highness asked me if these colonists would accept Ottoman naturalization and military service.

"I answered in the affirmative.

"His Highness then asked me if the two operations—the unification of the debt and colonization—could not be separated, since, at bottom, they have no visible connection.

"I conceded the justice of this observation.

"But, I added, that in such a short time it was impossible to work out any other worth-while combination and that I had to submit the one that I was sure of being able to carry out immediately, having obtained the consent of my friends.

"His Highness asked me of whom the syndicate was composed.

"I answered—in conformity with my respectful letter of the 24th of July to Your Imperial Majesty—that at the present moment it is a question of financial delicacy. My friends cannot show themselves officially because the Rouvier matter is almost concluded, a *mazbata* (decree) having been issued and published.

"His Highness had the goodness to recognize that under these circumstances financiers of standing cannot act otherwise.

"After this I allowed myself a few words concerning our demand of a charter for colonization. If it is a compensation for our efforts it is really not usurious. For the element of population that we want to bring into the empire is neither to be feared, dangerous, nor a cause for concern.

"It is a sober element, industrious, loyal, linked by racial ties and by religious affinity to the Mussulmans. One of Your Majesty's glorious ancestors called the unhappy Jews into his states at the time of the persecutions in the fifteenth century. They came in great numbers. Have the Sultans of Turkey ever had to complain of their Jewish subjects?

"I added that if Your Majesty were to deign to make a declaration in favor of the Jewish people upon the occasion of his coming anniversary, in these days of the telegraph and rapid communication, it would have an almost instantaneous repercussion in the whole world. It would be the great signal for the attraction of intelligent men, of capital funds, of industries and enterprises of all kinds, and it would not be only Mesopotamia and Haifa with a small stretch of its hinterland that would profit by this, but the whole of the Ottoman empire.

"Upon my return to Yildiz Kiosk, His Excellency, Aarif Bey reported that Your Majesty did not desire an agglomeration of immigrants in one part of his territory. I did not take the liberty of insisting, but to my mind a plan of colonisation need not necessarily take the form of an unhealthy agglomeration. If a great company with sufficient capital carries out the colonisation work it can come to an understanding with the Imperial Government as to the points at which to colonise. The establishment of colonists can be directed and controlled methodically according to a previously arranged plan.

"In order to demonstrate effectively that my devotion is not an empty phrase, I am, at the order of Your Imperial Majesty, to aid with my humble forces in the operation of unification. . . . Only it would be necessary to go at it very adroitly, and above all it would be necessary to insure the most absolute secrecy for the decisions finally decided upon. . . .

"My presence at Constantinople has not passed unnoticed, and from this fact itself advantages may be drawn. But if it may be permitted me to give a very respectful counsel it would be to do nothing and above all to let nothing transpire before

I have had the honor of being received in private audience by Your Imperial Majesty. Last time I did not receive that signal honor, but I hope not to be deprived of it this time. . . ."

IV.

Herzl once described Yildiz Kiosk as the "capital of Wonderland," and he was determined, like "Alice," never to be surprised at anything that happened there, but on this occasion the Sultan did amaze his guest. Herzl judged that his letter was a shrewd move that would force Abdul's hand. Instead, however, of answering at once, the Sultan had the unopened letter returned to Herzl with the intimation that he should employ a private translator so that the Sultan might read the Turkish version secretly. Whether this conduct expressed distrust of the entourage, or was merely a new means of gaining time while the French negotiations were being concluded, Herzl never learned. He had little time to speculate on the point. After much inquiry a young Spanish Jew named Badi was found who, pledged to secrecy, labored many hours over the task of putting Herzl's ideas into Turkish.

After further fret and fume and the usual period of suspense, Herzl was again escorted to the Grand Vizier, who reported that the Sultan was satisfied with Herzl's letters, and he was in principle prepared to enter upon a discussion of both his proposals. Herzl bowed; "then we entered on the cloudy, swimming, cigarette smoking, coffee chatter which represent negotiations. It was all so nebulous that no single point was clear to me." Herzl began to discuss the Jewish question, particularly the persecutions in Roumania. Incidentally he remarked that he was negotiating for an area under British protection which would considerably relieve the

pressure. But the Jews were sentimental and the little piece of Palestine that he sought in connection with the Mesopotamian offer was merely symbolic of Jewish sentiment for Palestine.

The Grand Vizier thought that the inclusion of Palestinean territory might create difficulties with the Powers. Herzl pursued his old argument. Palestine had spiritual as well as temporal areas. He had excluded all the Holy Places from his plan, and if by building up Haifa he should cause the Sublime Porte to suffer a military loss, it would be compensated by the political value of the colonists he had planned to settle there.

The Grand Vizier thought Herzl offered too little money, £ 1,600,000 for his charter and a break with Rouvier. Why not separate the projects? This discussion held with the aid of two interpreters, each checking the other, presented serious difficulties, but he decided to accept the Grand Vizier's suggestion and on July 31 endeavored to clear the situation by another letter to the Sultan. After expressing his appreciation of the fact that he was not being treated as a "strange bargainer," he wrote:

"Here is a proposal even better than that which I formulated at the request of Your Imperial Majesty. We are willing that the Imperial Government share in the financial profits which would result from the debt unification. Our project would be as follows:

"We accept in whole the conditions already accepted by the Rouvier group. The Imperial Government is to place thirty-two millions of new obligations at our disposal to carry out the unification in exchange for the existing bonds.

"We are to pay to the Imperial Treasury the sum of £1,600,000.

"From the profits obtained by us in the course of the entire transaction there shall be deducted our advance of £1,600,000.

The remainder shall be divided equally between the Imperial Treasury and ourselves.

"If, owing to resistance from the Rouvier group, or other unforeseen circumstances, unification should become impossible with the maximum advance of £1,600,000 on our part, we are free to withdraw the offer.

"But in that case we would carry out the colonisation plan, placing at the disposal of the Imperial Treasury the sum of £1,600,000.

"It is understood that for the unification plan we shall need the support of the Imperial Government in this sense, that it declare to the Rouvier group that it wishes unification to be made through our intervention, or not at all."

This proposal was rejected without explanation. Herzl was asked to attend the Friday Selamlık and then take his departure. Ambassador Constans had returned to Constantinople. Had Herzl been used merely as pressure on Rouvier? The leader was by no means downcast. He impressed Ibrahim with his British project and Ibrahim expressed the opinion that if the Sultan saw the Jews settling in Africa he might be more anxious to come to terms with Herzl. Then came a request that he remain for another day. He again met Tahsin Bey and Ibrahim Bey. The unification plan was not again referred to. Apparently the Sultan had closed with Rouvier. The secretaries instead resumed a discussion of the "dispersed" settlement. The Sultan sent him two other messages. He should induce the *Neue Freie Presse* to accept a subsidy, and allow himself again to be reimbursed for all his expenses. Herzl declined both offers. He had to accept a purse of gold sent by the Sultan to reimburse himself as guest. A protocol was then drawn up; officially it terminated Herzl's visit; the document reads:

"Their Excellencies Tahsin Bey, First Secretary of His Imperial Majesty, and Ibrahim Bey, Dragoman of the Imperial Divan, have done me the honor to transmit to me the following communication:

"The Jews may be received and may settle in the Ottoman Empire on the condition that they be not united, but rather scattered in places judged suitable by the government and their numbers shall be decided by the government. They shall be naturalized as Ottoman subjects and charged with all civil duties, including military service, and shall be subject to all the laws of the country.

"I took respectful cognizance of this communication. I express my sincere thanks for it and shall consult my friends about it."¹

V.

Herzl was glad to be able to take his departure from "Ali Baba and his forty thieves." But he was far from convinced that the door was closed. He felt certain the Sultan would eventually yield. He attempted to analyse the situation: The Turks had a certain advantage in their childish methods. They mused aloud rather than discussed. Their intrigues were as incomprehensible as the conduct of the Powers in their relation to Turkey. He had actually made some progress. In principle the Turks were not objecting to Palestine settlement, but were fearful of the intervention of the Powers. The 1901 "charter" excluding Palestine had been dropped and replaced by "dispersed" settlements. Now the dispersion had to be discussed. Could the dispersal be defined—at a price? He had had no little difficulty in clearing up the harmless incident of the three letters of credit and had to vouch in writing to the Sultan that these had been destroyed. Evidently the Sultan believed his favorites had enjoyed some personal advan-

¹Yildiz Kiosk, August 2, 1902.

tages from these transactions. At that he was not distressed by the situation. "I understand it thus: They will agree to Rouvier's plan for unification and later come back for my million six hundred thousand . . . I believe His Majesty has only now for the first time ascertained my wishes and he has not rejected them. . . . but they are not serious. Foam In the most earnest moments I felt: Everything is only talk. They are not earnest about anything"—If he could induce Lord Rothschild—and Greenberg had cabled that he had a session with him—to form the Eastern Company, the Sultan would look at him with other eyes. "I shall then be a neighbor with whom one must stand well."

All his attempts to induce the secretaries to define the term "dispersed immigration" was met with the answer it was merely a question of "detail in procedure." This phrase was, therefore, a handle to further negotiations. One thing was certain, both Yildiz and the Sublime Porte were beginning to understand him and his interest in the Vilayet of Beyrout. "One of these days when their needs press they will call me and throw it at my head. I believe I can hasten the day if, with the aid of Rothschild or the English Government, the Jewish Eastern Company is created.

"That must now be my chief concern.

"Then I will be an earnest but friendly neighbor of the Sandjak of Jerusalem, and on the first opportunity I shall acquire it as the Bulgarians did Eastern Roumelia."

Rouvier had won the long financial battle and at the expense of German interests whose concession for the Bagdad Railroad was guaranteed by the Public Debt administration which was, however, now to be controlled

by the French. The "man with the big, black beard" had been used as a pawn in the game Turkey had played, which baffled all the "tennis playing, epicurean" ambassadors who resided in Therapia. But his stay on the yacht and his trips along the coast had compensated him for the meals he had been compelled to eat in Yildiz with the secretaries. He was in good form. He could come back and "the Bosphorus is always blue."

For the first time he permitted an extended statement of his negotiations to appear in print. In the *Welt* appeared the following unusual report to the Zionists:

"After a stay of ten days in Constantinople, Dr. Herzl, President of the Zionist Congress, and David Wolffsohn, President of the Jewish Colonial Trust, have returned. Dr. Herzl and David Wolffsohn traveled to Constantinople on the 22nd of July. Dr. Herzl had received a telegraphic invitation from His Majesty the Sultan. He was treated with the greatest distinction and was the guest of the Sultan during the entire extent of his stay.

"On the Turkish side the negotiations were this time conducted by His Highness, the Grand Vizier, Said Pascha, as also by the Excellencies, the first secretaries of the Sultan, Tahsin Bey, the Principal Master of Ceremonies and Dragoman of the Imperial Divan, Ibrahim Bey, and the Chamberlain of the Sultan, Aarif Bey.

"Dr. Herzl had two long conferences with the Grand Vizier and in Yildiz Kiosk daily detailed discussions with the representatives of the Sultan. During those days Dr. Herzl elaborated for the Sultan a number of *exposes* in the French language and had these translated into Turkish by his own translator, whereupon they were immediately laid before the Sultan. In these *exposes* Dr. Herzl set forth the viewpoint of the Zionists and formulated the conditions of Jewish settlement in a self-contained part of Palestine and in parts of Asia Minor on the basis of a charter.

"These proposals were carefully considered from the Turkish side. Through his representatives the Sultan declared his fullest sympathy for the Jewish people; but the concessions



MRS. THEODOR HERZL AND HER CHILDREN.

which His Majesty expressed himself ready to make for a Jewish settlement could not be considered adequate, according to our Zionist program. The negotiations have, therefore, this time also remained without results. Nevertheless, the Sultan caused Dr. Herzl to be assured of his esteem and sympathy. The relations have in no way been broken off. On the contrary, we may hope that the advantages which a regular and legally guaranteed settlement of Jews imply according to our programme, will be recognized by the Turkish Government to their full extent.

"For that moment the Zionist organizations must be prepared and the agitation must be carried on incessantly and the material means must be collected. The more efficient our movement becomes, the more speedily and surely will it reach its goal."

The bold announcement of "hope deferred" did not create consternation in Zionist circles. The anti-Zionists were offered an excellent opening, but they did not take serious advantage of it. No one could be sure; the Sublime Porte was the will-o'-the-wisp on the horizon of international politics and no one was prepared to say that persistence would not produce results. Zionist societies actually adopted resolutions approving Herzl's conduct and congratulating him on having made a real beginning in his negotiations with Turkey. As one writer expressed the general sentiment, the fact that the Sultan had invited Herzl to come to Constantinople was evidence that he was interested and, therefore, eventually would come to terms. If Yildiz Kiosk was absolutely opposed, so ran this general comment, it would not have sent for the Zionist leader.

CHAPTER XVI.

TO THE WILDERNESS OF SINAI

Roumanian persecutions—Appeal to Rothschild—Publication of *Altneuland*—The novel and its critics—Commission investigates Sinai Peninsula—Rothschild and Jewish Colonization Association promise support—Egypt refuses consent.

A LOUD wail had gone up from Roumania. The persecutions of the Jews had again taken an acute form. Protest meetings were held in every country. The intervention of governments was urged and for the first time the United States took the lead in an official protest against ill-treatment of the Jews by a European Power. On August 11, 1902, Secretary Hay issued a formal protest against the mischievous artisan law by which the Roumanian government sought to exclude the Jews from all handicrafts and thus reduce them to beggary.

Herzl, it will be recalled, had pressed for consideration of the Roumanian persecutions by Lord Rothschild; he mentioned it in his evidence before the Alien Commission; he had studied the monster petition with which the Roumanian Jews had greeted the first congress in 1897. This situation was in his mind when he was in Constantinople. If he had been a man of leisure, or if Jewish suffering had not assumed catastrophic phases, he might have returned to Constantinople and by dint of great patience have created out of the Turkish offer of "dispersed settlement" a more workable solution. But the Roumanian situation was too urgent to permit of such delay.

He had become familiar with the Turkish method of indirection. Had he not held fast to the Basle doctrine of rights acquired by "public law" this "dispersed settlement" could, with sufficient bribery, have been converted into whatever he desired. But he believed he could accomplish more. He felt strong enough to publish his announcement of non-success, fully appreciating the opportunity it would present to the anti-diplomacy Zionists. But he was convinced that he could compel the Sultan to yield and he preferred that method of attack to imitating the ambassadors and financial emissaries who sat month by month in Pera, watching the lapping of the waters in the Sea of Marmora while the Sultan calmly but efficiently played the procrastinator. He could succeed at Yildiz but how could he afford to wait for success while his fellow Jews were being ground to powder? No doubt the majority of his followers would have accepted joyfully what he had rejected. But if it was difficult to finance a charter, how much more difficult would it be to finance an emigration movement on a business basis?

Weak Sultan, inimical Tahsin, obsequious Ibrahim, shrewd Izzet, penetrating Grand Vizier and the army of coin gatherers at the gates—he would force them to do his bidding. They would come to understand that the Jewish leader was not to be baffled. An end to endless coffee drinking, clouds of cigarette smoke and studying the well worn designs of the rugs in Ibrahim's bureau. Yildiz was "Alice's Wonderland," but Herzl had no liking for play either with the "March Hare" or the "King of Spades." He would instead extract an agreement on Palestine from the Sultan by obtaining a charter for Jewish settlement in the historic Sinai Peninsula. That territory had appealed to him in his study of lands within

the proximity of Palestine and the suggestion had impressed Lord Rothschild.

To decide was to act. While he concluded on his return to Vienna (August 12) that Lord Rothschild had written him some "twaddle," he knew that he would need his lordship in the negotiations Greenberg had started with Mr. Chamberlain, so he wrote Lord Rothschild:

"I must confess that your answer is not exactly what I had expected it to be.

"Oh, if you only had an idea of the terrible misery of our deserving poor people—I am not talking of schnorrers and other shiftless individuals—I feel sure you would listen to me more readily. I am enclosing a clipping I came across by accident. I could send you similar ones every day from various countries. I cannot count the heartbreaking letters I receive from groups of working people, business people, men of letters. Resignedly, I have to reply to them, 'I cannot help you.'

"Such people want no monetary gifts or else they would not apply to me. What they want is an opportunity to work, and an existence secure from persecution. And this the charitable institutions cannot offer them.

"Therefore, I am glad to be able to deduce from your letter at least that you begin to consider our question from a higher point of view than that of charity. If I do not err in this, I would regard it very lucky for our cause if you would take over the management of the Hirsch fund or, at least, influence it.

"I would like to tell you in confidence—just as I talk to you—that it is due solely to my influence that the revolt of the desperate poor people against the I. C. A. has not yet led to public scandals. . . .

"I was very glad to hear that you value my poor efforts even if they have had no effect as yet, because this praise comes from a master so often put to the test in good causes.

"But at the same time I cannot help thinking of the words of the German epigrammatist:

'We want to be less praised and more read.'

"I would have less talk about myself and would welcome more help for our unhappy people."

Lord Rothschild responded to this in a "friendly hostile" spirit. Herzl's response (August 22) was a detailed rejoinder:

"I cannot admit that the Jewish Commonwealth I would like to create would have to be small, orthodox, and illiberal. I have worked for three years on a coherent reply to these and similar doubts.

"It has grown into a book under the title, *Altneuland*, which will be published in a few weeks. You will be one of the first to receive a copy.

"There is only one thing I would like to say right here: Were the founders of those states that are now big, more powerful, cleverer, more educated and richer than we present day Jews? Poor shepherds and hunters founded commonwealths that became states. Greeks, Roumanians, Serbians, Bulgarians, established themselves in our times . . . should we not be able to do likewise?

"Our race is in all things more clever than most of the other peoples on earth. That is the cause of the great hatred. We have hitherto been wanting in confidence. On the day that we believe in ourselves our moral misery will come to an end. Of course, there always will be fights and difficulties, interior and exterior. But in which country and in which state is this not so? And anyway, we shall always produce the man who will struggle with these difficulties.

"The creation of a Jewish Commonwealth, Jewish Colony—call it that at the beginning—whatever you choose, is not viewed with antipathy or distrust by the Powers. Of this I have had many and sufficient convincing proofs from the most reliable sources.

"Furthermore, I am on the best terms with the Turkish Government. It is true that I have recently made known through the Zionist papers that my last journey to Constantinople led to no result. I desired this publicity which I could have suppressed—but I had reasons for this public statement.

"The main thing, after all, is that I possess the confidence

of the Sultan to a rare degree. This in itself is a phenomenon, because so many stupid and bad things have been told him about me, 'I wanted to be King of Palestine,' and similar nonsense. When I spoke to him, however, I did so with absolute frankness and simplicity, not as one talks to a tyrant before whom one trembles, but as I would to any other man moved by human emotions, and I believe that won him over. It may also have been the fact that he has had several opportunities to convince himself that I am not bent on pecuniary gain. Be-
think you, My Lord—I am telling you this, as I do everything, in strictest confidence—over a year ago he offered me immense business propositions and concessions, to obtain which many would probably walk their feet off. I explain this to myself thus: He must be convinced that I would not cheat him . . . and therein he is right.

"My aversion to several of the transactions proposed by the Sultan is not only that of a man of letters. Their execution involved the danger that my financial supporters might not serve him as honestly as was required for my political purposes and by my desire to maintain his gratitude and confidence. Perhaps I have committed the error of acting over-
timidly in that direction? The last time he urged me to take over for him the Conversion which, later on, he very unwillingly transferred to Rouvier.

"I ask myself now whether I should not have told you of this. With you I could have been sure of faultless conduct. Was it a mistake? Please give me your candid opinion. Your reply will teach me what attitude to take in a similar case, should such an opportunity recur today or tomorrow.

"What you say about the Hirsch funds has interested me. All I fear is that there will be trouble again in the execution. Well, we shall see. I still believe you should join the management in order to effect a change."

Meanwhile, Greenberg, "the most able of my supporters," was laboring with Mr. Chamberlain, the British Colonial Secretary, for an interview. Chamberlain was not unwilling to meet Herzl, but he wanted a summary in advance of the points to be discussed. Herzl, on his part, wanted to feel his way. "As recognized leader

of the Zionist movement in all countries I have the possibility in some degree of influencing Jewish migration. The immediate problem concerns three or four hundred thousand persons. The question is not one of 'Alien paupers' and it is not limited to East European lands. . . ."

He forecast the possibility of directing the streams of migration. . . . "But in reality," he wrote Greenberg for Chamberlain's edification, "I mean a good deal more. I would like to win Mr. Chamberlain for a large Jewish settlement in one of the British possessions."

While Greenberg was ascertaining whether Chamberlain was in principle in favor of such a settlement Herzl was defending the *Neue Freie Presse* against its philo-Zionistic competitor, *Die Zeit*, writing both editorials and feuilletons and impressing Benedict, who "began to believe."

II.

Altneuland (Oldnewland), begun in 1899 and completed in April, was published on October 1, 1902. In a letter to the author dated April 28, 1901, he wrote: "I am sending you the manuscript of the first four books of my novel, *Altneuland*. The contents of the fifth (the last) book is enclosed. Give it to Heinemann. He must give his answer within eight days." But in his diary, London, June 9, 1902, among his sorrowful references to his father's demise, was the regret that he had not lived to read the last few pages.

The novel, dedicated to the memory of his father and his sister, bears the motto, "If you wish it, it is no fable." In a brief postscript he added: "But if you do not wish it, then it is and remains a fable that I related to you. . . . Dreams are not so different from acts as many believe.

All human actions begin as dreams and end as dreams." The title was suggested by the Altneu (old new) Synagogue of Prague and aptly describes Palestine. Practical financial considerations first suggested the penning of the novel, the writing of which was, however, frequently interrupted.

When Herzl felt his own life was "a political romance" he pigeonholed his manuscript; when his own romance palled on him he resumed the writing. The breaks, however, are not visible. The story moves steadily and evenly, though its publication roused amongst the Jewish Culturists so violent a storm of protest that the criticism for a time overshadowed the book itself.

Herzl had his own views as to what *Altneuland* meant. To the Grand Duke of Baden he described it as "a story that I am telling at the campfire to keep my poor people in good cheer on their journey. Endurance is everything." Lord Rothschild he warned not to read into it a Utopia. To von Bulow he explained "the form may be Utopian, but the thing in reality is not so." To the Sultan he sent a copy. "A romance of the imagination. The happy effects which Jewish colonization in Palestine would produce. I was compelled, alas, to give to my idea the form of a fancy, not having been able to obtain the consent of Your Imperial Majesty."

Altneuland suffers as a novel from the fact that its purposes dictate every line. But it contains many charming descriptive passages, pen pictures, word etchings, and touches of humor that raise it as a literary production far above the "Looking Backward" type to which Belamy gave a great vogue, though it did not sell so well. Herzl undertook in 1902 to depict the Jewish state as it would appear twenty-one years later, 1923, and his imag-



HERZL AT 35.

Copied from photograph presented to the author January, 1897 (see inscription on reverse page).

Meinem lieben
Mitarbeiter

J. de Haas
zur Erinnerung an
den mühevollen Beginn
unseres Werkes

H. Hertz
Januar 1897

ination was equal to delineating in detail the processes by which its economic, social, and intellectual stability would be achieved.

The prologue, an excellent story in itself, covers the intervening period. Dr. Friedrich Lowenberg, a Viennese lawyer, thoroughly wretched and hopeless, gives all his spare change to a beggar boy, David Litwak, and answers the advertisement of a Mr. "N. O. Body" for "a desperate young man." As a result he meets Kingscourt, a misanthropic Englishman who wishes for a single companion on a sea journey he is undertaking; a man contemptuous of all humankind as of himself and therefore, willing to avoid all further contact with soiling humanity. Agreeing, they board Kingscourt's yacht and disappear into the unknown.

They "keep the seas" for twenty years and then learning at Port Said that something new has happened in the world they determine to inspect this marvel—the transmutation by the Jews of the drear and waste Palestine into embowered blooming Oldnewland. The beggar boy, David Litwak, is the hero and guide to the enchanted wanderers. Palestine has become a modern agricultural and industrial state governed by the Jews on a political economic cooperative basis.

A trim hand has taken the whole world into its grasp and squeezed out the best of all things—the essences of civilization are the aroma of Oldnewland. And all the world has contributed, on a business basis, to the upbuilding of the new state. The catalogue is carefully complete. Every country could see that it had something practical to gain in this development. Norwegian pine, Argentinean cattle, British ships, American automobiles, Italian marble, and so forth—some of the basic products

of each country go into contracts that build this new state. Nothing is forgotten, from a German overhead system of rapid transportation, to a replica of Odesa's harbor at Haifa. So, too, in the arts and sciences—a world picture of civilization at its best in 1899. Moreover, there is no mental, political, or social break in the evolution from pioneers to economic success. Nothing to inspire fear either in Russia or Turkey; nothing to aggravate the suspicions of social and political conservatives.

The novelist never ignored that he was a political leader; in all the chancellories of the world not an eyebrow should be raised in annoyance at this unfolding of the tale of Jewish development. On the contrary, the builders of *Oldnewland* have a Utopian quality. In the new Jerusalem, the re-erected Temple is a Palace of Peace, a symbol of the humanitarianism of the Jews who have created there a center to combat the great afflictions, fire, flood, hunger and epidemics everywhere. The motto of the palace is: "Nihil humanum me alienum puto."

The interdependence of peoples is thus expressed in the establishment of the state. The inward life is free of gnawing competition and of personal rivalry. He who does not seek office receives it. There is peace, tranquil hope, and security in *Oldnewland*. Men are thinking there of ridding the world of the hindrances to human betterment. Malaria and the tsetse fly can be stamped out and will be. Less than Arcadian bliss but some of its simplicity moves through these pages. But "not a single institution, not a single cultural quality expressive of the folk characteristics of the neo-Hebraists" is in the book.¹

¹Martin Buber: "Die Juedische Bewegung," *Juedische Verlag*, 1916.

As a politician Herzl never took the Kulturists seriously. It is not quite true that he regarded "Achad Ha'am as an obscure, mischievous journalist.¹ But he neither admired his views nor his followers and the dislike was mutual. But he never attacked the Kulturists even when they fell upon him with pens dipped in corrosive ink. He ignored them and left his defense to Nordau, who responded with vim. Nordau, unlike Herzl, had a good deal of sympathy for the aspirations of the Kulturists, but his unmitigated contempt for Achad Ha'am as a critic of literature was exhibited in his championship of *Oldnewland*. The Hebraist complained, among other things, that none of the characters spoke Hebrew. Nordau pointed out that though Achad Ha'am might not be familiar with Shakespeare, whose Roman characters spoke English, he must know the Bible, in which all the Egyptian personages spoke Hebrew. The thrust and parry was along that line.

To Herzl, the Jews were the scattered pieces of a wonderful mosaic which he, with infinite pains, was putting together. As a statesman he was in this political novel explaining himself to a world whose criticism meant much to his undertaking. As a realist he kept close to his theme. All his characters are pen pictures of his associates—those Zionists who supported him, not those who opposed him. Once when he disagreed with Bernard Lazare he turned to the writer and pointing to the Frenchman observed, "The opposition creates nothing." Wolffsohn (David Litwak of the novel), Nordau, Mandelstamm, the brothers Marmorek, Joseph Cowen, Leopold Greenberg, Gustave Cohen of Hamburg, Bodenheimer of Cologne, Rosenbaum of Jassy, Rabbi

¹*Ibid.*

Isaac Rulf of Memel, and the author, among others, were the men who might constructively achieve *Oldnewland*. He drew them to the life, not even changing their professions, but with great deftness aged them all twenty-one years.

Even Kingscourt (Austrian version of an Englishman) was an excellent picture of a non-Jewish employee of *Die Welt*. He imagined what these men might do; not what men, who were opposing his ideas, might by soul transference and psychological rebirth accomplish to this end. He limned his opponents where he needed them for contrast—but those were not the Kulturists, nor party men, but individuals who in Vienna had dealt unfairly with him or the cause.

His offending concept was that Neudorf, the model Palestine village of his dreams, "was in no wise built in Palestine. It was built in England and America, in France and in Germany. It is the creation of experience, books and dreams. . . . It would be immoral if we rejected a single creature, whatever his origin, whatever his race or faith, who wished to participate in our conquest. . . . Our password must be: "Man, you are my brother." And it was this acceptance of Biblical doctrine that was twisted into a charge of cosmopolitanism.

So also was his concept of how the Jews had achieved this success; Lowenberg asks the question:

"We see here a new, happy form of life lived in unison,—who created it?"

"The aged Litwak replied: 'Need.'

"Architect Steineck: 'The re-united people!'

"Kingscourt: 'Modern transportation.'

"Joe Levy: 'Will.'

"Professor Steineck: 'The powers of nature.'

"The English preacher Hopkins: 'Continual patience.'

"Resched Bey: 'Self Confidence.'

"David Litwak: 'Love and Suffering.'

"But the old rabbi Samuel arose and said piously: 'God.' "

The foregoing is an excellent synthesis of Herzl's religion. He accepted belief in the Unknowable. The ideology of Spinoza expressed his views particularly after 1898. To the Kulturists the ignoring of Jewish self-consciousness and the hero's eulogy over his mother proved Herzl was estranged and incapable of that form of expression which to them was Jewish and admirable.

But the eulogy David Litwak utters over his departed mother expresses accurately Herzl's personal attitude towards those near and dear to him. It runs:

"She was my mother. She was for me Love and Suffering.

"Love and Suffering were so embodied in her that my eyes filled when I saw her.

"I will never see her again and she was my mother.

"She was our house and our home when we had neither house nor home.

"She kept us upstanding when we were in misery—then she was Love.

"She taught us humility when our lot improved, then she was Suffering.

"In bad and in good days she was the honor, the ornament of our house.

"When we were so poor that we slept on straw, we were rich because we had her.

"She thought always of us, never of herself.

"Our house was only a miserable room, but it contained a treasure. Many palaces had no such treasure. There was she—mother.

"She was beautifully patient. Suffering did not cower her, it raised her.

"Often as I gazed at her I saw Israel in its time of travail. She embodied that to me.

"She was my mother—I will never see her again. Never again, friends!"

III.

Joseph Chamberlain was one of the two romantic figures that loomed large in the English world of politics in the nineteenth century, the other was Benjamin Disraeli. Unlike in most things they both rose from the non-land-owning middle-class, started their political careers as radicals and ended their days, as bold, insistent and venturesome imperialists. Chamberlain, "Brummagem Joe," because Gladstone would force Irish Home Rule on England at an inopportune time, had for a few years, as a member of a Conservative cabinet, controlled from the Colonial office more than the Imperial British interests. He had weathered the storm of the Boer war and aiding Cecil Rhodes in his "chartered" adventure had added no inconsiderable area of South Africa to the British domain.

Cold, calm, and inexpressive sharp edged face, that to his own delight lent itself to a thousand cartoons—his only affectation a monocle—this son of a screw manufacturer knew exactly what he wanted and pursued his course relentlessly. Quick, resourceful, incisive in speech, such was the British Colonial minister to whom Herzl now turned to help him in his quest for a "Charter" with the Seal of England which he could dangle temptingly before the eyes of the vacillating ruler of Yildiz Kiosk.

The preliminaries had been effected by Greenberg, who discussed Zionism at length with Chamberlain, who in his turn, when Arthur Balfour became premier interested his chief in the subject. The background of Herzl's meeting with Chamberlain was therefore sympathetic and well prepared.

They finally met at the Colonial Office in Downing Street on October 22. Herzl's impression was that he had met a man "without literary or artistic resources, a business man with a cloudlessly clear head."

No need for Herzl to drink endless cups of coffee and smoke hundreds of cigarettes; no waiting in ante-chambers. Chamberlain professed Jewish sympathies. He had, he said, not a drop of Jewish blood in his veins, but if he had he would have been proud of it. El-Arish and the Sinai Peninsula were outside of his administration. Cyprus was in his department but he did not believe that the Mohammedans and the Greeks who lived there would look with favor on a Jewish settlement. Anti-Semitism did not impress him. It was in England a sort of trade unionist opposition to cheap labor. The same issue might be raised in Cyprus. The Cypriots would fear being overwhelmed by Jews. But he liked the Zionist idea and he was willing to help if he could. If Herzl could point out a place in the British Possessions where there was no white settlement there would be something to discuss.

"We," said Chamberlain, "do everything in the open. If the Cyprus issue were raised a storm would be let loose."

Herzl thought the negotiations concerning Cyprus might be started by "colonizing" it with a few men who would agitate for the immigration of Jews. Chamberlain knew nothing about El-Arish. Together they examined a map and Chamberlain remarked on the difficulties that would follow Jewish settlement in Egypt.

"No," replied Herzl, "we will not go to Egypt. We have been there."

Chamberlain smiled; he understood the drift of

Herzl's policy, a gathering center for the Jews near Palestine. Herzl outlined his plan. El-Arish and the Sinai Peninsula being unpopulated would be serviceable for the founding of a large Jewish settlement there.

"Yes, if Lord Cromer recommends it."

By appointment he returned to Chamberlain's office. They spoke standing. Said Chamberlain: "I have arranged an interview for you with Lord Lansdowne. He expects you at 4:30 this afternoon. I have smoothed the way for you. Tell him everything, but ignore Cyprus. The Cyprus part is my affair. Tell him that the proposed settlement you plan is not a 'jumping off place' directed towards the Sultan's possessions. Convince Lord Lansdowne that you have no intention of making a 'Jameson raid' from El-Arish to Palestine."

Then he lunched with Lord Rothschild, who became enthusiastic about the Sinai project when he learned Herzl had twice met Chamberlain. Herzl pressed him to agree to raise five million pounds, if he obtained the concession.

Then back to Downing Street and the Foreign Office where Lord Lansdowne, "a fine English gentleman of fine manners and none too obvious intelligence," received him. The path had been smoothed. The Foreign Secretary listened and asked for a memorandum for the cabinet. The negotiations having been started by Leopold J. Greenberg, Herzl decided to have him act as his representative, and Lord Lansdowne agreed to provide the introductions to Lord Cromer, England's great administrator in Egypt.

Under date of October 24, Herzl wrote in his diary: "Yesterday was, I believe, a great day in Jewish history"—and he ends the record between Folkstone and Bou-



Cromer

LORD CROMER, ENGLAND'S RULER IN EGYPT WHEN THE SINAI
PENINSULA PROJECT WAS MOOTED BY HERZL.

logne with the English word. "Bright day. The sympathetic coast of England disappears from view."

To the Sultan whom the world despised he had had to talk in riddles. Moreover, he had been involved in Constantinople in highly speculative and complicated financial negotiations. In addition, the unpleasant task of creating a favorable opinion of the Sultan had been thrust upon him. All this weight suddenly fell from him. He had for the first time met statesmen whose word meant something, who went direct to the issue and asked for no quid pro quo for themselves or for their government, statesmen whose support strengthened the Zionist cause.

There is nothing in his correspondence nor in other documents to indicate in how far this personal equation entered into the policy he pursued from that day. But his meetings with Joseph Chamberlain and Lord Lansdowne were great events in his tumultuous life because their methods corresponded to his own view as to how serious problems should be handled and discussed. He found no joy in bargaining; even if at this juncture he was trying to lay the foundations of an unusual "deal" he had no relish for the trading itself. Direct action made the plan desirable. Moreover an agreement with the British Government required no support from other powers. A British concession could be easily cashed. Therefore he proceeded to put this new program into operation without much consultation with his continental associates.

Immediately thereafter Greenberg proceeded to Egypt on his mission to interview Lord Cromer. His first message was encouraging: "Everything all right."

But in the meantime public attention was being

drawn to the first Russian public conference of Zionists being held in Minsk, Russo-Poland. The Government's agreement that the Zionists should meet publicly, while officials were doing their best to check the sale of Jewish Colonial Trust shares, was at once a tribute to the growth and importance of the organization, as well as evidence that the Russian government was taking steps to observe all the phases of the movement. The conference was well attended and enthusiastic. Achad Ha'am, its leading personality, urged the acceptance of the Kultur programme, admitting incidentally that even the old "Lovers of Zion" had a political programme. He desired to develop a system of national Jewish education in Russo-Poland and was enthusiastic for the use of Hebrew as a spoken tongue. His own address was in Hebrew, but when Nahum Sokolow followed in the same language the audience broke out impatiently with cries for "Russian, Russian!" The government spies, however, took more notice of the attitude of the orators than of the conferees, and this created trouble with von Plehve, the Minister of the Interior. The broad fact that the conference was held aroused great enthusiasm everywhere. Further distraction from Herzl's Sinai policy was provided by the accident that the first annual conference of Zionist leaders was being held in Vienna on October 28-30. The Fifth Congress having decided to hold the congress biennially, this annual conference was instituted. The gathering was well attended and attracted a good deal of interest. Kultur was the leading item on the program. The views enunciated at Minsk were brought to Vienna. The Kulturists offered a practical program for the advancement of their ideas. They urged the granting of a budget for national Jewish education,

publications, the founding of statistical bureaus, university extension courses in Jewish subjects, reform in the training of instructors of Judaism, the opening of an exhibition of Jewish art, and the founding of a High School in Palestine. A complete educational system was planned.

In his opening address to the conference Herzl said: "We are convinced we are on the right road. If here and there obstacles confront us we shall as hitherto ever strive to find new paths until we arrive at the goal we have set ourselves to reach." His political report was accepted with satisfaction; but he was dispirited by the long sessions, and immediately thereafter suffered a "break down" which was reported in the press. Again he suffered a serious heart attack and had to absent himself for some days from his editorial desk. He was too ill to believe that he was close to obtaining "an English Charter," and the founding of a Jewish state." The exhaustion of my powers barely makes it possible. . . . In his review of *Oldneuland* Dr. Ganz says rightly: "No Moses enters the promised land."

He proceeded to Eldach for a rest. There on November 13 came Greenberg. Lord Cromer and Boutros Ghali Pasha, the Egyptian Prime Minister, and the British official staff were all favorable. But Chamberlain was going to South Africa and Herzl wanted to come to a settlement with his aid before his departure. Waiting for cable messages in this "never returning week," he wrote the Sultan in November, 1902: "It is elsewhere, on other soil, that I shall endeavor to transform my projects into reality. This will not prevent me from remaining very sincerely grateful and devoted to the magnanimous Sultan who is the friend of my people nor from

holding myself always in readiness if my humble strength can be of service to him."

But now he had to exercise patience. The British government was cool, deliberative, and methodical. He wished to rush to Cairo and meet Chamberlain there, but Greenberg checked his rashness. The British Cabinet was considering the project and it could not be rushed. Lord Cromer believed the project desirable if an investigating commission found it practicable. The Egyptian government would require acceptance of Ottoman citizenship of the settlers and the cost of maintaining order. This was within the framework of the constitution. The Khedive held office on condition that all Egyptians were Ottoman subjects and that all taxes were levied in the name of the Sultan. Egypt had no right to make political treaties, but conventions dealing solely with matters of internal administration could be effected. The members of the Actions Comite would not believe that so great an offer was under consideration. They rudely laughed at Herzl. Even a charter for Egypt would have been acceptable to them under the dire necessity that existed throughout Jewry for a haven of refuge. But Herzl had been studying the problem, as Lord Salisbury had advised others in another matter, "on a large map." He had found on the smooth northern coast of Sinai an indentation one and a half miles west of El-Arish. "There I will build a harbor, with a spur into the sea, and from the harbor construct a road to the Sinai Mountains." He hoped to find a place for a large settlement in the mountain range. Later he had another idea, the irrigation of the desert with water brought from the Nile. The project would cost millions but it would be worth while.

An investigation commission was at first composed

of Oscar Marmorek, Leon Kessler, a South African engineer; Prof. Otto Warburg (whom confidentially Herzl asked to study the phosphate resources), the Palestinian agronomist, Dr. S. Soskin, and a topographer recommended by Lord Cromer, Jennings Bramley of the Soudan. Herzl foresaw that Lord Rothschild would press the I. C. A. to advance two or three million pounds towards the five million he intended to raise. As to the conditions reported by Greenberg, the tribute he was satisfied could be paid if the governor of the "Egyptian province of Judea" was nominated by the colonists for a period of seven to ten years and appointed by the Khedive or the British. The police would be Jewish under Anglo-Egyptian officers.

Finally on the point of the settlers being Ottoman subjects under British guarantee he reflected: "I will yield that to the Sultan at a high cost. I will ask a part of Palestine."

So ended 1902.

V

"The Best Desert in the World," as one traveller who explored it in the Spring called the Sinai Peninsula¹ is the whole region between the two northern horns of the Red Sea. It is geographically and geologically one of the most remarkable districts on the face of the earth. "It contains the three grand features of earthly scenery—the sea, the desert, and the mountains. It occupies also a position central to three countries . . . Egypt, Arabia, Palestine . . . from hardly any point in the Sinaitic range is the view of the sea wholly excluded; from the highest points, both of its (the Red

¹M. J. Rendall, London, 1911.

Sea) branches are visible; its waters blue with a depth of color like some of the Swiss Lakes."¹ Another traveller pictures its huge limestone ranges as "the Alps uncovered," and the territory is, moreover, unique in that it has only one single page in all human history—it was Israel's wander-land for forty years.

There was something historically appropriate in this possible Sinaitic prelude to a Palestinean Jewish state—though Herzl probably did not know El-Arish crossed what in ancient days was known as "Derek Hamelek," King's Road, and that in all probability at one time the whole area was part of Palestine. In sooth at the moment of his negotiation the boundary between Palestine and Sinai was a mere line drawn upon a political map following no natural contour, such as the Wady El-Arish offers and which were it followed would have added several hundred square miles to Palestine. The whole area of Sinai, practically without population, is rich in minerals, has some petroleum and in spots is not infertile. It is only on the northern border from Egypt to Gaza that it suggests the desert of ordinary imagination—unstable sands blown by the wind into great rolling dunes.

If the expedition which Herzl organized in January, 1903, to investigate the country had been directed to start on the west coast and work its way across country instead of being directed to land a few miles south and west of the Palestinean line, this record may have read entirely different. If, too, before sending the expedition forward he had convened a session of the Greater Actions Comite, the story, too, may have read otherwise, because neither at that time nor long after was there in the Zionist mind a clear picture of the geography

¹Dean Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*.

of the Palestine involved in the Restoration. Herzl's line, north to Beyrout, west to Suez and east to Mesopotamia, would have been readily defended from Biblical records, though the common interpretation of Palestine fixed Rafa as the southern frontier and Damascus as the northern line, with the Hauran, the Jaulan, and much of Transjordan as part of historic Palestine.

Herzl did not even permit himself the leisure necessary to think out the composition of the investigating commission. Thus he neglected entirely the commercial and industrial phases of the settlement which were vital to his own general plan and theory. Nor did he attempt to gather experts who had serious knowledge of the very problem he proposed to attack—quick mass settlement. Few Jews anywhere had actual experience of the practical problems involved in such an operation and few men of any race had the training which qualified them to approach with any finality of judgment the availability of a large stretch of wild country for settlement. There were plenty of experts with a pet theory of agriculture or of town settlement, but since Joshua's time the men sent to "spy out the land" have not only returned divided in opinion, but history has generally reversed their verdicts. Except on one point Herzl himself was the only Zionist available to report on the Sinai Peninsula—because he was in his vision clear as to what he wished to achieve there and the will to do invariably conquers physical difficulties.¹

¹The only serious published study made of El-Arish from the view point of Jewish settlement is a report drawn by Davis Trietsch. There are still signs of ancient wells in the vicinity of El-Arish and the author saw in 1919 still signs of ancient wells in the vicinity of El Arish and the author saw small patches of successful gardening in this great waste, the result of the efforts of British "Tommies" in their leisure.

But he could not afford the time nor could he risk the misunderstanding that such a policy would have produced. Instead he hastened to London in January, having en route consulted Alexander Marmorek, Nordau, Greenberg, Cowen, and the Actions Comite. He was delighted that this time Lord Rothschild called on him and gossiped on the failure of the I. C. A. and he was glad to obtain the co-operation of Col. Goldsmid, who immediately joined the commission. The leader felt strengthened when Lord Rothschild agreed that should the I. C. A. refuse to aid, the Rothschilds would initiate a public subscription for the project and would see it through.

Then he met Sir Thomas Sanderson, the lean, sharp, clever, doubting Permanent Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who had seen superiors come and go and whose influence on English foreign policy was as permanent as his title. England, Sir Thomas stated, would agree to as much as Lord Cromer would approve. Egypt, not England, would issue the charter—the British did not own Egypt—these English distinctions between control and possession puzzled Herzl. The English system of divided authority did not appeal to him. But as instructed he met Sir Benjamin Baker, the builder of the Assouan Dam, in order to discuss engaging an irrigation engineer to join the group of experts.

"He looked like a shoemaker, but with his axe-cut square face, his bushy look of command, the close-cut moustache that hid the movements of his lips, the powerful chin—all this betrayed a man." Sir Benjamin Baker asked little, was not unfriendly because he was not informed, and recommended an engineer.

Action followed swiftly. Claude G. Montefiore was

ill but Lord Rothschild sent for Herbert G. Lousada, one of the administrators and a legal adviser of the Jewish Colonisation Association, told him "Dr. Herzl and I agree," and detailed the plan. Lousada though many years engaged in Jewish communal work in London, had probably never met the master of New Court, answered deferentially, "I shall be happy to consider all that your Lordship has suggested."

But Rothschild stopped him. "You Portuguese Jews always answer with courteous phrases. I want no speech, but action," and he explained the procedure he desired. (Herzl was all attention.) "Call your colleagues together and present it to them. We will do it. The question is, with you, or without you."

Herzl did more than plan the route and divide the responsibilities of the commission. He ordered the transportation and obtained life insurance policies for the members of the party. To Greenberg, who was to proceed no further than Cairo, he gave full authority as political negotiator of the project, providing him with a draft charter. Leopold Kessler was appointed technical head of the expedition, with Col. Goldsmid, quartermaster and Oscar Marmorek, secretary. Dr. Hillel Joffe of Jaffa was telegraphed to join the commission as medical adviser. The detailed investigations were left to Prof. Otto Warburg, botanist; Prof. Emile Laurent, a Belgian, who joined as settlement expert and mineralogist; Dr. S. Soskin, the agriculturist, and Stephens, the authority on irrigation problems. To these the Egyptian Government added as its representative Mr. Humphreys. With all necessary authority and advice the group left on January 29. Herzl followed their movement almost hour by hour. A sheaf of telegrams and

cable messages followed the expedition until it disappeared in the desert.

On February 10 Herzl wrote Lord Rothschild:

"The seven members of our expedition are already on their way to the Sinai Peninsula to explore the territory for the settlement. I have chosen the best known experts from England, Transvaal, Belgium, Austria, Egypt, and Palestine for this expedition. At the same time I gave a power of attorney for the completion of the charter in Cairo.

"I hope the expedition will be back in good trim in a few weeks and soon after that I hope to be in possession of the Charter.

"Now, however, I must already prepare for the future. Your word that you will help me pleased me and I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the help you have already given me. We shall see what effect your intervention has upon Mr. Claude Montefiore and Mr. Lousada. As soon as I shall receive news from Cairo I will inform these gentlemen so that they can get together the various members of the Board of the Jewish Colonization Association. I suppose they will meet in Paris, this being more convenient for the Continental members.

"And now comes my big request.

"I beg you, Lord Rothschild, to come to Paris for this conference where I shall be present. I am expecting a decisive effect from the presence of your personality, which is held in such universal esteem. If we can thus facilitate matters for the public subscription would it not be reasonable to save our strength?

"A second thing could be achieved. Apart from the Jewish Colonisation Association, men to whom I would not care to give my entire confidence, an exchange of opinion with Baron Alphonse and Baron Edmond Rothschild would be of the greatest value. I could meet these gentlemen at your place.

"They could be very useful to us in the political side of the undertaking, insofar as they could nip in the bud the eventual doubts of the French Government. For in this corner (Asia Minor) as you are aware, there exists a certain degree of French jealousy and your Parisian cousins might be able to smooth things over.

"The other political difficulty which in my moments of worry I see looming on the horizon, for instance the unfriendliness of Russia, I hope to overcome by going to the Czar personally. I have a way to reach him but will only use it when I can see a clear purpose ahead. . . .

". . . I am trying to clear the way before stumbling over obstacles.

"Above all, I do not wish to lose a single useful moment. For if we have the Charter, we must do our first spade digging in the autumn.

"The working plans will have to be prepared by our returning technicians and the emigration organized. True, I have been preparing for this for a long time and have already a good organization at my disposal, but the execution will bear much thinking over."

The closing paragraph of that letter read, "our stay on this earth is but limited and as long as we are on this planet we must make haste if we want to do good." In this spirit he proceeded immediately to turn the departure of the experts to use in his audacious policy towards Turkey. Said Pascha was no longer Grand Vizier. He had been replaced by Ferik Pascha who knew not Herzl. To him he wrote in detail rehearsing the discussion he had in Constantinople for a concession for Jewish colonisation to be granted to the "Zionist Organization of which I am chief. But to my deep regret we did not come to an agreement." And then he proceeded to reopen his proposals for a group settlement of Jews, naming no territory, but agreeing that they should become Turkish subjects and offering an advance of £2,000,000 Turkish.

In a letter to Ibrahim Pascha he however identified the area he sought as the Sandjak of Acca, notifying him and Izzet Bey at the same time that he was planning to settle Jews in Africa. He wrote also to the Sultan:

"I have the honor to lay at the feet of the Imperial

throne in the serious circumstances of the present hour, another proposition. Your Imperial Majesty will perhaps have need in the near future of all the devotion he can command and if I and my friends were called upon to serve him we would not fail him." Turkey was as usual in great trouble with the powers; so that sentence might read impressively in Yildiz. Herzl continued:

"There is another motive which prompts me to act now. The condition of our poor Jews has become in several countries intolerable to the point that we must, at all costs, find a refuge for them. This is why the Zionist committee of which I am the leader has entered into negotiations with a government which disposes of sufficient territory in Africa. These negotiations are most serious and very far advanced. But at this last hour I return once more to the place where my deep devotion for the august person of Your Imperial Majesty and the peculiar sympathies existing between the Turkish people and the Jewish nation calls me.

"The proposal is briefly this: For a concession for colonization in part of Galilee we will offer a loan of two million pounds to the Imperial treasury.

"The colonists would become Ottoman subjects and the colony would remain under the sovereignty of Your Imperial Majesty.

"For greater clarity I have drawn up a charter which I have transmitted to the Grand Vizier.

"The happy consequences of such a charter drawn up by the generous Caliph would probably be inestimable.

"Announced by message, through the newspapers to the four corners of the world, the news, apart from the immediate financial benefits, would produce from day to day a current of brotherhood for the Turks amongst the Jews of the entire world and the Ottoman government could, when a difficult day comes, count upon a gratitude which would withstand every trial.

"May it please God that I be heard in this grave hour by Your Imperial Majesty."

Meanwhile Greenberg was wiring from Cairo.

"Have private information from Cromer that Sultan's man here is doing all he can to oppose us. It is very serious. He is acting in conformity with instructions from the Sultan. Do not forget Khedive is subject to Sultan."

Herzl was so positive that this Sinai proposal would be successful that he abstained from purchasing a family lot in the Doblin Cemetery "where my father rests temporarily." He would go with the settlers. Such was his determination and the concept of his obligation to his fellow Jews. He therefore dealt with the project in the spirit of immediacy. He was ready to pack bag and baggage. There were moments when he recognized that this tension was not only hurtful to himself but injurious to the negotiations in progress. But he could not succeed in restraining himself. His haste even bred in him morbid doubts as to the personal loyalty of his best supporters. He lived at one end of the cable from the moment the investigation commission entered the Sinai desert until, under his pressure, by forced marching it hastened its return.

Greenberg obtained in Cairo, from Boutros Pascha, an agreement by which the Egyptian government assigned to a corporation still to be formed, as much as, in Nordau's judgment, the Capitulations and the British occupation permitted. Herzl had so long thought in terms of the Sultan's autocratic authority in relation to Palestine that it took him some time to realize that the Sinai Peninsula was not only under the control of three powers but that one of them, the English, proceeded in all matters without undue haste. The Sinai region belonged to Egypt, over which England ruled with great circumspection and with a nicety of consideration

for form which only the Anglo-Saxon legalistic mind could conceive and execute, because Egypt was still part of Turkey, with the Sultan as Suzerain. When one government assented, the other two objected.

This detail, which was ignored by most Europeans, was not explained to Herzl, who believed Lord Lansdowne's good will would determine Lord Cromer's policy and dictate the action of the Egyptian Government. And he was not undeceived on this point until he had himself been to Egypt. As it was he saw nothing in the "document" which Greenberg brought back on which to congratulate him. On the contrary, he believed Greenberg had usurped authority and disobeyed orders in not offering a promise of a bribe to the Turkish Commissioner in Cairo. Greenberg, he concluded, had "produced the masterpiece of a not absolutely loyal representative." Disappointed, Herzl viewed the agreement as "a plausible non-committal letter from the Egyptian Minister, President Boutros, . . . for the establishment of a Jewish national settlement company . . . hypothetical promises and very distinct limitations."

Herzl's suspicions of Greenberg's conduct were apparently confirmed by the latter's avoiding Vienna on his return journey. Therefore he was dismissed and ordered to say nothing in London. Weeks later the matter was satisfactorily cleared up by the return through the dead letter office of a letter of instructions he had mailed to Greenberg but which had not been delivered. Their mutual confidence was not only restored but enhanced, as subsequent events proved.

All the preliminary reports of the experts were favorable. So Herzl after writing insistently to Lord Rothschild for a meeting of the Jewish Colonisation Associa-

tion directorate in Paris on April 12, set out for Cairo in order to continue the political negotiations.

His quick trip brought no immediate result. Lord Cromer was not in a hurry and he did not propose to be excited. He conducted his business of ruling Egypt just as he spoke, with precision, care and no display of emotion. Moreover, as Herzl came to understand in part, but not wholly, Lord Cromer preferred to transact this business with Englishmen. He understood the delicacy of his position which in his book on Egypt he defined in clear words: "One alien race, the English, have had to control and guide a second alien race, the Turks, by whom they are disliked in the government of a third race, the Egyptians."¹ Englishmen understood without unnecessary explanation the sides of the cleft stick by which England held Egypt.

When Herzl appeared Lord Cromer asked for Greenberg and later he showed obviously that he preferred to discuss the matter with Col. Goldsmid, rather than negotiate with Herzl. This seeming insularity was a blow at Herzl's amour propre. He winced at it. Moreover, he could not understand the British policy in Egypt, with its doubts as to the duration of the occupation. Lord Cromer when he received Herzl left little play for the imagination. He said definitely the new settlers could have no more rights than the native Egyptians; that is, no charter for self-government. Greenberg had obtained municipal rights in Egypt. Ottoman subjectivity was equivalent to British protection. Nor could the agreement go beyond the terms outlined by Boutros Pascha. For within those limits Turkey could not interfere in the project. For the rest everything would de-

¹*Modern Egypt*, by Earl Cromer.

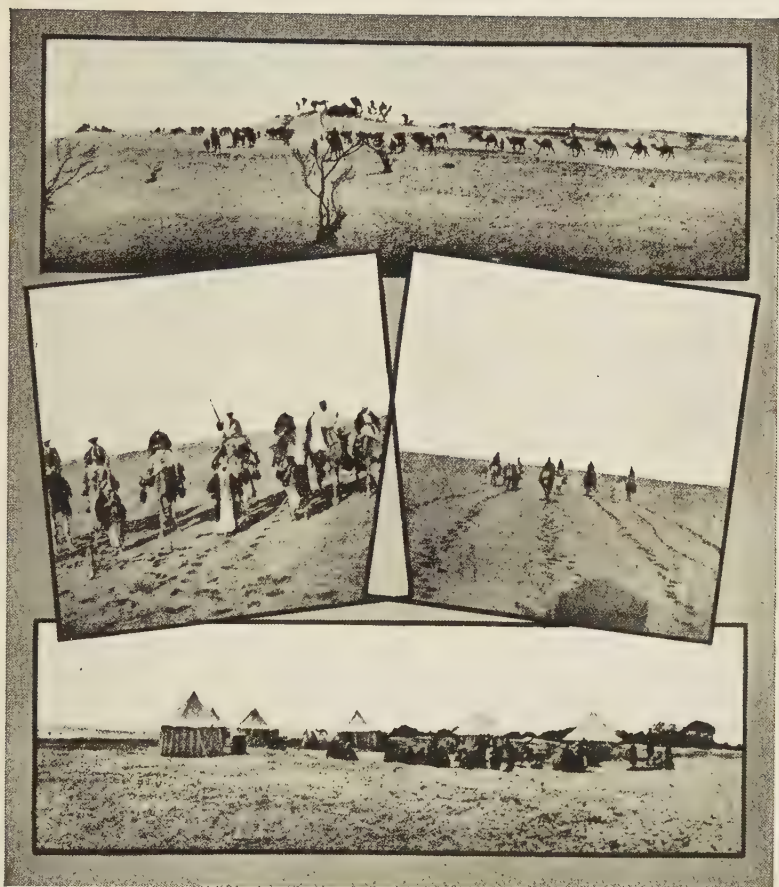
pend on the report of the experts and the advice of the government's experts on the report. Should he, asked Herzl, see Boutros Pascha. "Yes, I told him early this morning that you were here." And the Turkish commissioner? "No, he has nothing to say here. I do not recognize him. Do not come into contact with him."

On March 28, the Investigating Commission returned to Cairo and its oral report was sufficiently encouraging to warrant a forward step. Lord Cromer directed Herzl to draft a plan for the concession. This brought him in contact with more of those square jawed, clipped, moustached Englishmen who accommodated themselves to wearing the fez, smiled quietly and went unhurriedly about their official business. These men did not bargain. They told him after he drew up his plan that many modifications would be necessary and that the grant would have to be in the nature of a lease; ninety-nine years was mentioned with a reversion to the Egyptian Government if the settlement was not a success within a decade.

With Stephens, the irrigation expert, Herzl visited Sir Hanbury Browne, the Under Secretary of State for Public Works, and on the latter's houseboat they discussed the vital problem of transporting sufficient Nile water to the Pelusium Plain to make the land fertile. "Stephens explained and I listened with both ears. . . . Cromer had spoken to Sir Hanbury of 50,000 square kilometers, whereas it was only 250. For that area, Sir Hanbury declared, enough water could be spared. . . .

"But for me, one-time poet, the atmosphere of this houseboat on the Nile, the sun setting behind the distant palms was gripping.

"There were the two English engineers talking in up-to-date



SNAPSHOTS OF THE EXPEDITION THAT INVESTIGATED EL
ARISCH.

technical language of the volume of water of this commanding stream to be led on to the dry land of the home-returning Jews.

"If for a time I understood nothing of their figures and calculations, looking through the cabin window I gazed at the brown flood, flowing as it did in the time of Moses, our teacher."

Herzl wanted all the area of Sinai from Pelusium (Sin of the Bible) to the 28th parallel, the coast line from Suez to El-Arish, inland "the Desert of the Wanderings" and southward to the mountain range just beyond the traditional site of Mount Sinai. As the government could not decide whether the surplus waters of the Nile were sufficient to irrigate this area until Sir William Garstine returned from Mombassa, Herzl set that problem aside and proceeded with his draft, and eventually at Lord Cromer's suggestion he left Col. Goldsmid "on the spot" to conclude the negotiations, which he was apprised would take several months.

"I will be patient," he wrote in his diary, but he left Cairo an April 3, crossed the Mediterranean, impatiently spent only a few days in Vienna, arrived in Paris on April 17 in the same tense mood—waiting for cables. In Paris he met Lord Rothschild at Baron Alphonse's residence and was depressed by His Lordship's hesitancy. Rothschild's advice was: Prepare a memorandum for the Jewish Colonisation Association, limit the plan to El-Arish and an immediate settlement of from five to ten to fifteen thousand families. "Every further and larger operation they will regard as a dream." But the directors of the Hirsch organization refused to meet until the concession was obtained. Herzl was anxious to meet Baron Alphonse de Rothschild—that seemed more important than meeting the Hirsch directors at the mo-

ment and he wrote Lord Rothschild who was averse to the meeting of Herzl and his Paris relatives at that juncture:

"I want to make two things clear:

"(I) That I do not want a financial contribution by the Paris house of Rothschild, but only their moral support.

"(II). That I do not expect the I. C. A. to give money *a fond perdu*; I desire only that it participate in the productive creation of a great Jewish Colonization plan for which I have already secured the necessary political basis."

Though Lord Rothschild would make no effort to bring Herzl and his Parisian cousins together he found a way round. Grand Rabbin Zadoc Kahn came as the representative of Baron Alphonse de Rothschild to Herzl. He also impressed Salomon Reinach, whom he called his "irreducible" opponent on the board of the Jewish Colonisation Association; but that organization wanted first a report and then an opportunity to study it. Circumstances were, however, favoring him, and when he arrived in London on April 23 Lord Rothschild told him that while Baron Alphonse feared the political implications of the plan, Baron Edmond was charmed with it. Moreover, Lord Rothschild had written to Jacob H. Schiff inviting co-operation.

Fate was dragging him upward. After an interview with Mr. Chamberlain, he saw Lord Lansdowne and not only found him charming and agreeable to all he had to report, but he was invited to draft a memorandum on the bill which the Jewish Colonisation Association had introduced in Parliament to extend its powers. The resources of the Association were beyond its spending powers. It wanted authority to operate "in every part of the world (except in Europe)." There were some

sharp differences of opinion as to the administration of this large capital among the friends of the directors. The Zionists, as we have seen, were interested in the Palestinean work. "Cowen, Greenberg, and Zangwill danced an Indian war dance when I brought that news to them." The Herzlian attitude to the I. C. A. was clearly manifested in a memorandum the latter forwarded to Lord Lansdowne,—

"I think there should be a clear understanding that the money of the Hirsch bequest is not going to be used to keep Jews in Russia etc., under the pretext of fitting them for colonization elsewhere. Hirsch's idea was to take the people out and the money must not be used to keep them in.

"On the other hand it is quite clear from the failure of the Argentine colonies that the way to take them out is not by creation of small colonies which would not, and do not attract the masses. That only can be gained by broad and big schemes which recognize the national sentiment of the Jewish people"

Leaving his English confreres to draft this interesting document, he left London (April 25) after urging Lord Rothschild to write to Chas. Hallgarten of Frankfurt asking support, but always with the one condition: "My project, to be sure, requires no donation, but a reasonable productive investment of capital which would not be lost."

In Paris two days later he met the administrators of the Jewish Colonisation Association, Philippson of Brussels, Salomon Reinach, Claude G. Montefiore, Alfred Louis Cohen, and Herbert G. Lousada. Lord Rothschild had forced them to meet Herzl unofficially. They were doubtful as to the project but they were sufficiently im-

pressed to promise that their organization would participate in it to the extent of one or two million pounds. To Lord Rothschild he described this meeting: "Pelusium is the financial plum in the pudding whilst El-Arish is politically of more importance to me. I need the colonisation in El-Arish because it can be begun at once. I can thus lessen much suffering and inspire the masses. And it will probably prevent the passage of an alien bill in England." He was in excellent spirits. To Nordau he said: "I regard the chess game we have played with the I. C. A. as won." To himself: "What a court of miracles, that administrative Council of the I. C. A., and on that depends the fate of a poor people!"

But all this daring, planning, and contriving yielded nothing. The end came swiftly. On May 6 Goldsmid wired him from Cairo, "Sir William Garstine is opposed to us," because the volume of water required to irrigate the Pelusium Plain exceeded the supply available; and on the seventh Goldsmid cabled: "Lord Cromer recommends abandonment." In vain Herzl, acting on Stephens' advice, compromised on the water needs.

A few days later Goldsmid cabled the end of the adventure "Egyptian government refuses altogether."

Herzl never returned to the subject and Col. Goldsmid declined to make any public statement on the matter. But for an allusion to it at the Zionist Congress the El-Arish project was not further discussed. The refusal to provide water from the Nile for irrigation was apparently a good technical reason which covered the political views of the British administration in Egypt. London and Cairo were by no means in agreement on such policies and the British grown wary in their colonisation practises have at least since the Boer war allowed

local administrators to decide when Downing Street was in doubt. After the capture of Khartoum the British interest centered in the development of the Soudan and the unification of British interests in Africa by the building of the Cape to Cairo railroad. To Lord Cromer, who makes no mention of the matter in his memoirs, the proposal to settle the Sinai Peninsula might have seemed doubtful if not dangerous. As it was it kept the Arab races well apart. Populated and rendered fertile it might become a highway along which many new problems might travel and complicate the complexities of Egypt.

Herzl on his side erred in two directions. Politically he asked too much. What Boutros Pascha offered was as much as the Zionists desired in the form of political rights in any area at that time. But Herzl wanted some glittering phrases to dangle in the eyes of the Sultan and thus bring Palestinean settlement within the realm of actual negotiation. In the second place he forced the investigation commission to scamp its work. That its report was not unfavorable shows that there were possibilities in the Peninsula. The experience of the British army in 1916-8 in the same area shows that had the investigation commission been given the time, opportunity and mechanical facilities, it is not improbable that the subsoil water resources of the coastal region would have been found adequate for a considerable settlement.

But Herzl was more than "a young man in a hurry." His master passion was Palestine as the solution of the Jewish question. And although as we have seen he would have settled with his followers in El-Arish, he would have only done this because of its propinquity to Palestine. His own clever phrase described his attitude. He called Sinai "Egyptian-Palestine."

CHAPTER XVII

"REMEMBER KISHINEFF!"

The Massacres of April, 1903—Herzl's "Kishineff and Sardines"—Pleads by letter with Czar and Ministers—Pulling wires for settlement in Mozambique, East Africa, Sinai and Palestine—Meets Von Plehve and Witte in St. Petersburg—"The day in Wilna."

"Across the Easter Sky has glowed
The flicker of a blood red dawn."

SO Emma Lazarus wrote of the massacres of the Jews in Russia in 1881. The words of the American poet applied again to Russia, and this time to Kishineff, the capital of Bessarabia. The Roumanian persecutions were for the moment forgotten as a tale of horror began to trickle from Russia. An old, old story was grimly repeating itself, but this time to a generation that, thanks to the insistent Zionist propaganda, felt not only the pain but also the mortifying shame of it.

The Russian situation had been serious throughout the winter. After the Minsk Zionist Conference the Ministry of the Interior had issued a circular addressed to the Governors, prefects, and other authorities in which it declared that it was the policy of the government to assimilate the Jews with the other subjects of the Czar, and therefore it was opposed to Zionism. At about the same time the government began to exploit the religious prejudices of the masses against the Jews as an act of reprisal for the large Jewish participation, through the Jewish Social Democratic Labor League, in the secret

congress of the Russian Social Democratic Party. Threatening conditions were, however, so much part of the daily life of the Jews in Russia that little attention was paid to all these ominous signs.

At the Russian Easter, three "Blood Accusation" charges had been brought against the Jews, one in a village near Vilna, another in a village near Kovna, but the most serious at Dubossari on the Dniester. The peasants there immediately rose against the Jews and a battalion of infantry was sent from Bendari to quell the riots. But the *Bessarabetz*, the only newspaper in Kishineff, was in anti-Semitic hands, and notwithstanding the fact that the Odessa municipal authorities publicly announced that no blame was attached to the Jews of Dubossari for the murder that had been committed there, excitement was fomented in Kishineff, where 50,000 Jews resided.

There is some evidence favoring the theory that the anti-Semites, aided by government officials, were organizing for the purpose of making a holocaust of the chain of Jewish communities from Kieff, down through Bessarabia, to Odessa. Outrages took place both in Bendari and at Tarospol. The telegraph was in the hands of the government and news was suppressed.

But the Kishineff Jews were on their guard. The *Bessarabetz*, the *Svet* and the *Novoye Vremya* were obviously working up a case, and the Ministry of the Interior which had the previous year been exceedingly hostile to the Jews, was believed to be supporting the attacks. The Zionists organized a military guard to protect their families and their homes. The governor was warned of what the Jews feared. The storm blew over. The agitation died down for a few days. Then at an unexpected

moment on April 18, the mob rose in Kishineff and wreaked its passions on the Jews with a fury and a bestiality that outvied anything that happened in Russia either in 1881 or 1891.

Said the *Novosti* correspondent, "Neither words nor pens can be found adequately to narrate all that took place in our town on the 19, 20 and 21. Altogether two thousand shops, magazines, stores, and booths were wrecked. Not satisfied with murder, the ruffians actually wrought their vengeance on the corpses."

The local governor had power, under the Russian code, to suppress riots at the point of the bayonet. Nevertheless, he permitted the great and glorious "drunk" of the Russian Easter to be turned into a story that shocked the human race.

The ghastly details of the three days' murder and pillage are unequalled even in the stories of Russian Tartar butchery. "We must go back," said a Jewish report, "to the fall of Jerusalem to find a parallel for the appalling stories of the murder of children." And what was most bewildering was that the better classes of Kishineff stood by and watched indifferently the brutal sport of flaying and quartering women after they had been outraged. "It is difficult to realize the inhumanity that permitted a band to play at one end of a thoroughfare, while at the other the massacre was in full swing."

The Russian Government did its best to minimize the facts, although by a curious oversight the censor permitted the St. Petersburg *Viedemosti*, *Novosti*, and even the *Bessarabetz* to publish the ghoulish details of the three days of terror. The British Government reported on May 19 that the dead numbered at least one hundred. The exact number of killed was only known long after-



THE KISHINEFF MASSACRE.
Cartoon by M. Okin.

wards. There were three hundred and fifty-four victims in the Kishineff hospitals; a thousand received slight wounds. Ten thousand Jews fled to Odessa, to Tarospol, and to Jassy in Roumania. Four thousand Jewish families were rendered homeless. The loss of property was estimated at two million dollars and not a house in the Jewish district remained unscathed. All business was suspended for many days; for, in the words of one correspondent, "the only abiding places for Jews in Kishineff were the hospitals and cemeteries."

In this way, what began on Easter Sunday as a street brawl ended in shocking Russian Jewry to its center and spreading fear and terror in every direction after the massacre. According to the official account made by the Kishineff Jewish community, the mob had been incited by the information spread no one knows how, that the Czar would look with pleasure on the slaughter of the Jews. Von Plehve, the Minister of the Interior, was charged with sending a secret order to the governor of Bessarabia, which, while warning him of impending trouble, plainly hinted that he should not be overzealous in the protection of the Jews.

"Remember Kishineff" became a new Jewish password. "If there is any Christianity in Christian Europe, every country should ring with denunciation of the savage government which has put the deeds of the Tartars and the Bashi Bazouks to shame," wrote the London *Jewish Chronicle* bitterly, accurately expressing the sentiment that dominated Jewry.

What this foul deed meant to Herzl, whose mind had been so intent on the rescue of the legally persecuted Roumanian Jews, he wrote in an article in *Die Welt* of May 8. His skill as a writer, his emotion as a Jew, and

above all his sense of responsibility for Jewish life, all went into this editorial entitled:

“KISHINEFF AND THE SARDINES”

“I really mean sardines in oil, those tasty little fish whose succulent flesh, steeped in pleasant tasting French oil, soothe the gums and comfort the stomach.

“And I really mean Kishineff within whose walls so many of my brothers and sisters struggle for a living bowed down by their depressing environment. The same Kishineff where the unfortunates have been robbed of existence to which they clung as tenaciously as do others more happily placed.

“In truth one cannot vision this thing correctly. One reads ‘Outrages in Kishineff.’ So among the telegrams of bond movements on the stock exchange, the voyage of the King of England, and the reception of the German Emperor, another press message! One reads so much of misery, murder, and robbery, one is saturated.

“Our child, a growing girl, takes it more seriously. My God, she is still so young, she is receptive to innumerable soul stirrings. Today she is the first to take up the newspaper. For her there is no other news in the whole paper. Whether I am silent or I talk, she cannot rid herself of it. She cannot understand my passivity. Now I do not like to be disturbed at breakfast. Each day brings its own worry, trouble, annoyance and disturbance, calling for self-restraint. As usual, I butter a slice of bread and lay on it a nice sardine. Its aroma is pleasant to my nostrils. Our child will not let me hold my peace. ‘Father, haven’t you read it? They took the children from their mother in her presence, before her eyes, they killed them.’

“I put the sardine down and looked at my child’s eyes. They were full of tears. I caressed her cheeks which were burning from excitement. When she felt my hand, she clung close to me, as though seeking help. Then we sighed eye to eye, heart to heart. We needed not to speak to understand each other. What was thinking and speaking, was myself, a piece of me, carefully tended and guarded, nurtured with the best my soul is capable of. The greatest honor I can give my children is the love of our people, loyalty to self.

"Now, we are both in Kishineff. A wild horde is crowding into our sunny garden. We struggle for our lives. I defend my wife and children to the uttermost!—It lasts only seconds, but I live through the death agony of my brothers and sisters in Kishineff. Their child is my child. My life is theirs.

"I decide to finish breakfast hurriedly. Remarkable to relate, I could not eat. Particularly the sardines were offensive. They are dead creatures, and the smell! Fatality, I smell blood—dry blood—dead flesh. I knew they were sardines, but I saw the corpses of children, white bodies, headless. I went into the garden.

"When my spirits are low, when the mean acts of human beings and the incomprehensibility of their conduct rouses my wrath, then I flee to my flowers. Their passive beauty, delicacy of their aroma, the harmony of the tints enrapture me, and stir my imagination to the great, the ideal, and the eternal in nature, softening the tempest of my spirits.

"Today I walk quickly towards the dusky blossoming hyacinths, but my nerves are still quivering to the smell of the blood of Kishineff. Near the hyacinths, blossom tulips, long stemmed, bright yellow with red stripes and tips, deep glowing red, the color of blood. I retreat hastily. Remarkable! I did not know it and I never imagined it. Hyacinths smell of sardines and tulips suggest blood. I smell murder and I see death. I know well enough that this is a mistake. Hasn't some of the oil clung to me. I wash myself carefully, leave the house, and go towards my office.

"I like to loiter at the street corner. There is always a fine display of fruit in that shop window, early fruits from Algeria, fresh strawberries, pineapples, bananas, rare fish. I enjoy looking at this display. Behind the fruit is a pile of tin boxes—sardines in oil. It is remarkable, but the strong fish smell penetrated the tin and the thick plate glass—and—the strawberries and the fruits truly—they are bleeding.

"Wherever I looked that day, I saw blood, wherever I went I felt cold death, my blood welled up, my brain burned and my heart trembled within me.

"How is it with the other Jews? Do they eat nothing?

"They have all heard of Kishineff. Did not this news dispatch taste bitter in their mouths?

"Have they no children who tremblingly clung to them when they heard that Jewish children were killed at their mothers' breasts?

"Are their nerves not chilled by the touch of death?

"Have our brothers in distant Bessarabia died in vain? No, no, we dare not believe that.

"Always when Jews are attacked, a current of sympathy passes through the race. One helps, counsels, as the occasion suggests; the fugitives escape from the horde to a safe distance—the dead are buried. When the grass grows over the graves, the event is forgotten. Out of mere self-love, because we want to eat our breakfast in peace and contentment, with happy children round about; *we will not forget Kishineff*.

"That word shall become act and that blood shall be solid foundation.

"Sleep in peace, you poor blood witnesses to the thousand year old race loyalty. You did not die in vain. We can make of your death cries a slogan. Your death rattles can become a battle cry that will affright the ears of many. But your memory to us is too sacred to be used for demonstration. Your weakness shall be our strength, your dead will come to life in us. We go to action in your name.

"Gather wood from their coffins so that we may send splinters to safe places where the Jews are not killed for their racial existence. Fill tear bottles with their blood so that we may speedily put them in the corner stone of that wall we shall erect. But until that day shall come, hyacinths will smell to me like sardines, fish look like corpses, and the tulips suggest blood.

"But when we are weary, cast down by the trickery of men and by the mischief of the small and the unworthy, then—so that the work suffer not, nor weariness overcome us, then—we will proclaim the burning rallying cry—Kishineff."

II.

Herzl meant every word of that vow. El-Arish immediately disappeared in the mazes of another project which will be presently outlined. But this new daring effort yielded for a moment to a still stronger impulse—

he must face the Czar in order to save his people. Again Baroness von Suttner came to his aid and wrote a letter which was forwarded to the Czar through the Russian Ambassador in Vienna.

"Some Israelites, subjects of Your Majesty's Empire, have begged the leader of the Zionist movement, Dr. Theodor Herzl, to solicit an audience with their powerful Sovereign. The granting of such an audience would bring hope and calm to a population crazed with terror.

"Previously Dr. Herzl had been recommended through the intermediary of the Grand Dukes of Baden and of Hesse for the favor of being received in audience without being able to obtain it.

"Now he solicits it through official channels, addressing himself to Messrs. Plehve and Pobyedonostzev, who probably would be more than willing to see a little calm restored amongst these hopeless beings. Seven million unfortunates should not be left in fear of assassination.

"For many years I have been united in friendship with him. I saw him at work in 1899, rendering important services to the cause of the Peace Conference at the Hague—services which have been taken into account by Messrs. Stael and Bloch. The Sovereigns of Germany and of Turkey have held long conferences with him. But if now he were received by the Emperor of Russia he could serve the peace of the empire and of humanity.

"And who am I to dare, at the feet of your throne, lend my voice to this request? I am, Your Majesty knows it, I believe, a simple servant of this sublime ideal of which Your Majesty is the most powerful Champion in this world; the Ideal of Peace . . ."

To von Plehve Herzl wrote directly, "The deplorable events of Kishineff press the pen in my hand—but not to complain over the unalterable. I hear from responsible sources that the Jews are beginning to be overwhelmed by despair. They believe that they are being handed over without protection to the base instincts of

the mob. The result is that the older generation fears that its economic activities are being shattered, while the younger generation begins to listen to the teachings of the revolutionaries. Children of fifteen and sixteen who in no wise understand the revolutionary nonsense are being impressed by the theories of violence" and he urged approval for an audience from the Czar.

To Pobyedonostzev, the Procurator of the Holy Synod, Herzl wrote:

"Once I was discussing with a well-known writer the inconsolable position of the Jews in Russia, and repeated the generally expressed opinion that you were responsible for it. Said my friend: 'Let me tell you an anecdote. A few years ago I was in Marienbad (or did he say Carlsbad?) and walked along the tree-lined roads. In one of these I met a miserable distinctively Jewish beggar woman. I had only gone a few steps further when I met—whom? Podyedonostzev. I allowed him to pass and turned around in order to see how the notorious Jew hater would treat the beggar Jewess. . . . How great was my astonishment when he stopped in front of her, went over his pocket, and gave her a coin.'

"I think I then began to understand official Russian anti-Semitism."

But neither Czar nor Minister deigned to answer.

III.

During his visit in London when the El-Arish project was still under consideration Herzl had been received by Mr. Chamberlain (April 23) who began "Since we last met, I have seen a large portion of the world." Chamberlain was not impressed with the preliminary report Herzl had received on the possibilities of the Sinai Peninsula. Said he: "In the course of my travels, I saw an excellent country for you, Uganda. It



ANOTHER OF OKIN'S KISHINEFF CARTOONS.

is hot on the coast, but as you travel inland, the climate improves and is splendid, even for Europeans. You can raise sugar and cotton there. So I thought that would be a good land for Dr. Herzl. But he wants only Palestine or its neighborhood."

"That is so," Herzl replied. "Our base must be in Palestine or near it. Later we might go to Uganda, for we have a mass of humans who are ready to emigrate. We must, however, build on a national basis. That is not understood in Egypt, or else they do not want to understand it."

Chamberlain's suggestions recurred to Herzl when he returned to Vienna early in May and when on May 8 he learnt that the El-Arish project was hopeless, the emergency created by the Kishineff outrages pressed him to consider the whole situation anew. He must find a territory.

In "the fruitful morning hours" of May 12 he pondered Chamberlain's suggestion of Uganda and travelled mentally to Mozambique. Could he obtain a charter from the Portuguese government, which was hard pressed for cash, for a part of Mozambique and then exchange it for a British Egyptian charter to El-Arish, irrigated by ample water from the Nile? He might in addition even obtain Cyprus in the exchange, a triple play of exchanges leading to Palestine with El-Arish as the base. For a few days he considered the possibilities of this project, but the Portuguese Ambassador in Vienna temporarily killed all further thought of it. Herzl had sent Hechler to sound him out and the Ambassador offered to receive Herzl if he were introduced to him by Baron Albert Rothschild of Vienna. That "combination" was inconceivable. A few days later he bethought

himself of another opening and solicited the good offices of Minister President Koerber, who at once responded favorably.

Greenberg had meanwhile again seen Chamberlain who, he reported, offered in East Africa an area sufficiently large for a million settlers, with *local self-government*. These were three impressive words, to Herzl. Nevertheless, he met the Portuguese Ambassador and, learning that the Mozambique Land Company was in complete control of its territory and was even permitted to organize its own troops, he submitted an indefinite proposal for Jewish settlement in that territory.

Then he "bit into the sour apple" of notifying first Grand Rabbi Zadoc Kahn of the abandonment of the El-Arish project and wrote to the same effect to Lord Rothschild on May 30:

"My whole Sinai project has been crushed. Everything was ready. The decision whether we could obtain the Nile water that we needed depended on the opinion of Sir William Garstine. Sir William, however, after his return from Uganda attacked the statements of our engineer Stephens. He declared that we would require five times as much Nile water as Stephens had calculated and Egypt could not spare that much. With that the whole project has gone for nought. . . .

"But I am not discouraged. I have already another plan in hand and a very influential personage has promised to help me. As soon as things have gone as far as to warrant a report you will be the first to hear about it. . . . It goes without saying that I am not thinking of a financial contribution, but only of your advice and your influence.

"Kindly let me know whether you have received a reply from Mr. Schiff of New York and if he is willing to consider a reasonable big useful project. If he should come to Europe I would like to talk to him at your house.

"Kishineff is not finished yet. The effects are yet to come. According to my reports terrible anxiety is spreading among

the Jews in Russia. The immediate consequences will be a new emigration movement. Whither? To America? To England? Henry Norman and Evans Gordon will have a chance to introduce a new Alien Bill."

The Jews everywhere were raising funds for the relief of the victims of Kishineff. Never before was the response so rapid and so great and so world wide. "Remember Kishineff" had indeed found an echo in every Jewish breast. But it did more than that, it created a revolution in Jewish thinking, especially among the radicals. They had forgotten the outrages of the previous decade. Kishineff was startlingly new evidence of Russian blood lust. Just as it was reported in 1881 in Russia that the horrified intellectual and assimilated youth had responded to Jewish blood letting by donning the Orthodox praying shawl in the streets, so now Jews affiliated with all sorts of negative movements found an outlet for their bitter awakening by joining the Zionist movement.

"Kishineff Zionists" was a new and impressive designation. It applied to those who had come out of a long sleep and wanted immediate action. From afar, Herzl saw this new boiling and tumult in Jewish life. He sensed its excitement and nerve strain. His "Kishineff and Sardines" had aroused a generation into revolt. Still waiting for a reply from the Czar, he telegraphed the author to urge President Roosevelt to call a Congress of the Powers to deal with this blood bespattered Jewish problem. But the world was not ready to move with his express speed; so even before this plan could get into action, he telegraphed Greenberg to go further into the East African project and sought another method of approach to the Czar. His own tense feeling was expressed

in his brief message (June 6) to the American Zionist convention assembled in Pittsburg.

"The condition of our Russian brethren is very serious, and calls for our most earnest attention; a great emigration movement from Russia is to be expected. We shall bring to the Basle Congress a programme which we believe will help our people."

He wrote to Salomon Reinach, informing the Jewish Colonisation Association of the failure of the Sinai plan:

"The project which had almost united us has failed. . . . But this between us—I have still a ray of hope; and if my efforts succeed, I count upon you, yes, upon you, my excellent adversary, to uphold my propositions in your Council. . . . It is suggested that we buy certain lands in the plain of Jesreel. The owner is a Mr. Sursouk, of Beyrout. I have been informed that he has said: 'These lands either the Jewish Colonisation Association or the Zionists will buy from me.' It would seem that certain speculators wish to reap a profit from competition between us. Manœuvres of this kind are easily foiled if we are both aware of them. I, on my part, would inform you of them without expecting reciprocity. I would have you know at what price they offer us lands in Palestine. If you will not breathe a word of this to any person, perhaps one or the other of us will be able to lay bare the shameful speculations of which you have spoken to me.

"Mr. Sursouk asks twenty-five francs a dunam; the real value, according to our reports, is from fifteen to eighteen francs.

"If you wish to buy, we will withdraw. If you do not wish to buy, tell Mr. Sursouk so, very plainly, so that we may be able to buy cheaper."

Then he again turned to Constantinople and wrote to Izzet Bey reminding him of the memorandum they had together drawn up on February 18, 1902, summarizing the Sultan's views at that time. "You must have

heard of Kishineff . . . in that report we discussed a grant of land in Mesopotamia and of the Sandjak of Acca." Subtly he indicated that unless some new overture was made by Yildiz he would have to go to the approaching Zionist Congress and declare that all negotiations with the Sultan were impossible. "Then we shall be obliged to look for other territory. The occasion is not a bad one."

But the Balkans were passing through troublesome days. A Serbian court conspiracy ended in the assassination of King Alexander and Queen Dagomar and all Macedonia was in insurrection. For a few days ambassadors and ministers were too busy to be impressed with the importunities of the Zionist leader. But Herzl was determined to proceed to Portugal. He called the Viennese executive together and submitted his idea. There was immediate objection. Even the faithful Oscar Marmorek would not approve the proposition, though he was willing that Herzl obtain from Portugal a charter which might be exchanged for one for the Sinai Peninsula with the necessary supply of Nile water. Realising, however, that the British government would learn of his Portuguese trip, he decided to abandon this new venture and authorised Greenberg to continue his negotiations with Mr. Chamberlain and the British Colonial Office.

His "simultaneous" chess, with Palestine as the "master" move was well illustrated in a letter he wrote to Lord Rothschild (June 17):

"Lack of time prevents me from telling you in detail about the new combination I am working on now. You shall, however, know everything in good time. At present I only want to say that the people in question who had promised to help

me in the affair already known to you are with me entirely in this matter.

"Today I have another very urgent matter on hand. I have received reports from Constantinople that we stand a very good chance of obtaining a large tract of territory from the Sultan if the debt Unification should not succeed. As everybody knows, the Unification plan is contrary to English interests.

"With your enormous influence in political circles it should be an easy matter for you to prevent the Syndicate of Foreign Bondholders agreeing to the Unification plan. A bagatelle to you, but the help you would thus give us would be enormous. Please do it at once."

Palestine, Egypt, Sinai, England, Uganda, Mozambique; a congress of the Powers to be convened by President Roosevelt—there must be an answer to Kishineff. And Rouvier had not yet put through his deal in Constantinople. Yildiz must be hungry and his pockets empty!

IV.

There was no cessation all through June in this nerve wracking policy of endeavoring to find some foothold for his people. He bombarded men with cables, letters and messages: to Greenberg, Cowen, Zangwill, Kann, urging negotiations and new combinations. The Turkish Debt unification plea was much to the fore. Rumor had it that the Sultan would not accept Rouvier's plan, which was still being argued in Constantinople after two years of debate. And new aid was slowly and indirectly coming to Herzl in his opposition to the plan, which he countered because he feared it would lose Palestine to the Jews. He was no longer alone in his efforts. But he could not rest. He sent York Steiner to New York to develop a new type of popular financial support while

he was watching the terror that was spreading in Russia.

On July 8 it occurred to him that he knew a Polish noblewoman, Madam von Korwin-Piatrowska, who knew von Plehve, and he explained to her his dire distress. All his efforts to reach the Czar and his ministers had failed, but undismayed he made a new attempt to reach St. Petersburg to discuss the organization of Jewish emigration from Russia. A few days later Madame von Korwin Piatrowska answered him that she had succeeded. "Von Plehve would be happy to make the acquaintance of so interesting a personality as Dr. Herzl and would with all his heart support a movement for emigration without the right of re-entry."

Herzl was an Alt Auser and he needed a passport. It was Sunday. He telephoned for Dr. I. Schalit, the secretary, and demanded that he obtain for him a *visé* passport for Russia. Schalit protested, the government bureaus were all closed. The thing was impossible. "Buy yourself a new pair of gloves and obtain that passport," commanded Herzl. Schalit disappeared. Late in the evening he returned with the passport. To Lord Rothschild he again appealed for assistance (July 30).

"I have been promised interviews with several persons prominent in political circles there, but just the same I would ask you to let me have an open letter of recommendation to the Minister of Finance, Mr. Witte. I know from a reliable source that he respects you greatly and therefore an introduction would be of great value."

Herzl was laboring under great physical as well as mental strain. He spent whole nights either in the Zionist office or in his library drafting all these letters and telegrams besides doing his routine work on the *Neue Freie Presse*.

Two motives guided Herzl in his request for an audience with von Plehve. His old policy from the beginning of his diplomatic effort had been to exercise pressure on the Sultan through the Czar; years before he had said to the Grand Duke of Baden that it mattered not what the Czar discussed with him in an audience. Were he received in Russia, the Sultan would be at ease as to the Russian policy toward Zionism. But there was that day a still greater personage in Russia, a minister who ranked in the minds of politicians with Louis XIV and among moderns with Palmerston and Bismarck. Wjatscheslau Konstantinowitch Plehve, a man of obscure parentage, "of German blood with a Jewish strain," Minister of the Interior and by common report the inciter of the Kishineff Massacre, was the power in Russia. To confront him and obtain from him some promise of amelioration of the persecutions would show that the Zionist guardian of Israel was living up to his own vows of duty. To obtain from him an agreement as to the emigration of the Jews would be the coup that would bring the world to understand the full import of what Zionism meant.

Russia was to Herzl a pit of horrors. The close inspection of his passport at the frontier, the silent journey through a sad landscape, the suggestion that beyond lay the land of wastes and tundras—the frozen north, all these were depressing to the impressionable Jewish leader who had decided to face the power of great Russia. As he proceeded to St. Petersburg the few Jews who furtively met him "greeted me, poor devil that I am, as their 'liberator.'" Katzenelsohn of Libau joined him en route, acted as his guide, and informed him on many details of Russian affairs. On the train they played on

a chess board the "immortal game of Andersen-Kieseritzky," move by move. Katzenelsohn urged Herzl to play carefully with von Plehve. Herzl answered, "I will sacrifice neither the castle nor the queen," meaning he would yield nothing of the few privileges the Jews possessed.

Lord Rothschild, instead of an introduction to Witte, when Herzl arrived in St. Petersburg sent only a letter of excuse.

Spies, police, detectives—Herzl looked for the evidences of the celebrated Russian system when he entered the office of von Plehve who, however, received him immediately.

"A man of sixty, big, somewhat stout, approached me quickly, greeted me, asked me to be seated, urged me to smoke, which I declined, began to talk. . . . He has an earnest, pale face, grey hair, whitened moustache and remarkably young energetic brown eyes.

He spoke French, not elegantly, but not badly.

"I granted you this interview, Doctor, which you requested, in order to come to an understanding with you about the Zionist movement of which you are the leader. The relations which shall be established between the Imperial Government and Zionism and which can become, I will not say friendly, but understanding, will depend upon you."

Herzl replied, "If they depend only on me, Your Excellency, they shall be excellent."

Von Plehve held forth:

"The Jewish Question is not vital for us, but still it is a fairly important matter. And we concern ourselves to bring it to an end in the best way possible. I have only granted you this interview to discuss this with you before your Congress

because you desired it. I understand that you take another position in the matter than does the Russian Government and I will clarify to you the Russian standpoint. The Russian state must desire the homogeneity of its population. Nevertheless, we understand and cannot expect the disappearance of all the differences in faiths and languages.

"For instance, we must admit that the old Scandinavian culture has become thoroughly engrafted in Finland. What we must, however, demand, from all our people, including the Jews, is that they regard the Russian state as the factor of existing patriotism. We want to assimilate them. There are two methods, higher education and economic progress. . . ."

He went on in that tone. Herzl asked for a piece of paper to make notes and observed that von Plehve fearing misuse tore the heading off the sheet he gave him. He writes, "What in heaven's name could I do with such a piece of paper!" The minister expressed the hope Herzl would make no improper use of the interview. Herzl responded agreeably and added, "That was, I believe, the first real move in this immortal chess game. For I understood at the outset that he was much concerned at the unavoidable public discussion at the Congress of the Kishineff story."

Von Plehve continued to detail the government's attitude toward the Jews, an attitude that was thoroughly approved in high quarters. Then he said:

"Formerly we were sympathetic to the Zionist movement, because it advocated emigration. You need not explain the movement to me. You preach to the converted. But since the Minsk Conference, we notice a change.¹ There is less talk of Palestinian Zionism than of Kultur, organization, and Jewish Nationalism. We have noticed in particular that your Russian leaders—who are highly respected in your circles—do not properly respond to your Vienna Executive. The only one who stands by you in Russia is Ussischkin."

¹See page 105.



VON PLEHVE, RUSSIAN SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, WHO
GAVE HERZL THE CZAR'S AGREEMENT AS TO RUSSIA'S
ATTITUDE ON ZIONISM AND JEWISH EMIGRATION.

Herzl writes, "I was inwardly astonished at his familiarity with the personnel of the movement. It showed me how seriously the matter was being studied. In fact, he rose and reached for a large book, bound in brown with gold lettering, 'The Ministerial Report on Zionism.'

Von Plehve was only confused as to the friends and foes of Herzl within the Russian organization but his general information was accurate. Herzl proceeded to defend his opponents, the Young Zion and Kultur wings. Von Plehve was mistaken, he urged. All that was happening in Zionism was a repetition of Christopher Columbus' experience on his voyage to discover America. The crew mutinied against a captain who had promised but had not yet brought them to the shores of the promised land. "Help me to reach land sooner and the revolt will cease." They discussed the aid Russia should give Herzl at the expense of the taxes raised from the Jews. Von Plehve made it evident he wanted to be rid of the Jews. America might take many if Roosevelt agreed. He was willing to approve any policy involving riddance of the Jews. That was the pole-star of his Jewish policy.

Herzl felt the pressure and the accumulated hatred that was felt for the Jews. "I stood," he told the author, "before a panther, a strong, sinuous, unrelenting beast, whose every move was a guarded offense. He gave me a note to de Witte, his political opponent, but sealed it carefully before he handed it to me. I never met another man who so intensely represented power and determination. The arch anti-Semite, cool, frank, a butcher. My confrontation of von Plehve was the event of my life, like standing on a scaffold and expecting the axe

to fall." Von Plehve was on his side impressed by Herzl. The upshot of the interview was recorded in a letter from Herzl to von Plehve dated, St. Petersburg, July 28 (old style).

"The conclusion of the interview which you did me the honor to grant might be summed up in the following manner.

"The Imperial Russian government has the intention of solving the Jewish Question in a humanitarian manner and in a way that meets the exigencies of the Russian State in relation to the needs of the Jewish people. It has been deemed useful to come to the aid of the Zionist movement whose loyal tendencies have been recognized.

"The help of the Imperial Government will consist:

"1. In an efficacious intervention with His Imperial Majesty, the Sultan. This would mean obtaining a charter of colonization for all Palestine, excepting the Holy Places. The country would remain under the sovereignty of His Imperial Majesty, the Sultan.

"Administration would be carried on by a Colonization Company, which would be founded with sufficient capital by the Zionists. This company would pay to the Imperial Ottoman Treasury an annual fixed rent in lieu of taxes.

"The company would recover this rent as well as their other advances (public works, public instruction, etc.) from the taxes paid by the colonists.

"2. The Imperial Russian Government would grant a financial subvention for emigration, using for the purpose certain funds and taxes of purely Jewish origin.

"3. The Imperial Russian Government would facilitate the organization of loyal Russian Zionist Societies in agreement with the Basle program.

"It will depend upon your Excellency, how and to what extent this be given publicity. Our Congress at Basle which will begin the 10th of August might be made use of for this purpose. . . ."

He enclosed a draft of a statement which in his judgment he might read at the Congress. It read:

"I am authorized to state that the Imperial Russian Government intends to help the Zionist movement. The Imperial Government proposes to intervene in our favor with His Imperial Majesty, the Sultan, for obtaining a Charter for Colonization. Moreover, the Imperial Government will place at the disposal of emigration, conducted by the Zionists, certain sums drawn from taxes levied on Jews. And to prove the humanitarian character of these measures, the Imperial Government proposes to extend in the near future the areas of Jewish settlement in Russia, for those who do not wish to emigrate."

Herzl called almost immediately on the Minister of Finance, Sergieci Iulivitch Witte, who was unsympathetic. He played on Herzl the old diplomatic trick of seating his guest where the full light fell on Herzl's face. "A big, plump, unpleasant, serious, sixty year old man. A peculiar sunken nose, cross legged with a swollen foot, that makes difficult for him. . . . He spoke French very badly. Often he sought so hard for a word that it was comical. But as he was not sympathetic I allowed him to struggle."

"Do not say that you have the view of the government. You want to lead the Jews away? Are you a Hebrew? Above all, with whom am I speaking?"

"I am a Hebrew and leader of the Zionist movement." De Witte gave him a lecture on the Jewish position in Russia. The Czar was honestly prejudiced against them. He claimed that he personally was a friend of the Jews, but the fear of the charge of being bought prevented many persons defending them. Anyhow the Jews, who were only seven percent of the population, numbered fifty percent of the revolutionary party. His friendliness, he related, had found expression in telling Alexander III, "If it were possible to drown the six or

seven million Jews in the Black Sea, I would favor it. But as that is impossible, we must let them live."

The discussion went on in that tone. Herzl was convinced that de Witte had been instructed in all his anti-Zionist arguments by Jewish bankers. "I took all these arguments by the throat and crushed them." And he obtained the agreement he wanted, permission to open a branch of the Trust in Russia and permission to sell shares.

Von Plehve accorded him another interview. He had obtained the Czar's confirmation to the agreement they had drawn and he elaborated to Herzl the Russian attitude toward the Jews again. Russia was stung by the attacks made in other countries, particularly by the charge that the government had been a party to the Kishineff massacres. He went further; he suggested to Herzl that a number of the Russian Zionist leaders should inspect the government files and police orders relating to Kishineff and publish to the world the admission that it contained nothing confirming this suspicion. Von Plehve recognized the Jewish situation in Russia was bad, but it could not be altered—an independent Jewish state in Palestine was, therefore, desirable from the Russian viewpoint.

Herzl urged that the Pale of Settlement should be enlarged, for the benefit of those who could not emigrate. More Jews should be allowed to settle in Curland and Riga. Von Plehve was not opposed to this. He was even willing to consider Jewish agricultural settlements, but always on condition that it involve group settlement. The Jews would not be allowed to exercise economic pressure on the Russian people. Finally Herzl pressed for action by the Czar on the Sultan. Von Plehve an-

swered, "We shall see after the Congress." Any delay was sensible from his view-point.

Herzl understood this was both a threat and a promise: either help, administrative and pecuniary, or the suppression of the movement. "So everything depends whether or not our people act stupidly," he wrote in his diary before he left St. Petersburg.

To von Plehve he sent another letter:

"Everything depends upon the efficacy of the intervention with His Imperial Majesty, the Sultan.

"For a long time there has not been a moment so propitious as this; and who can say when circumstances as fortunate will present themselves again. The Ottoman government will in order to please Russia grant all that we will ask.

"A desire directly expressed by His Imperial Majesty, the Czar, would suffice. I am convinced. . . .

"I propose to labor at the work of making peace in every way even before the Congress.

"I leave tomorrow (Saturday) night and I intend between trains to stop off at Vilna in order to make a speech there. I am told that there will perhaps be some manifestations of hostility towards me there, but that does not daunt me, and it is precisely to placate some misguided ones—if there be any—that I am going."

At the moment Herzl was struggling for Russian support in Constantinople, the Russian fleet, owing to the murder at Mitrovitz of M. Stcherbin, the Russian Consul, was "demonstrating" in the Bosphorus. The outlook for early action on the part of the Czar, therefore, looked remote. Nevertheless, he had in his portfolio a promise of support from the Czar's minister which he could make public!

V.

When Herzl left St. Petersburg he was satisfied with his political progress, but angry with some of his fellow members of the Greater Actions Comite. Most of them had discreetly avoided meeting him. One came and urged Herzl not to proceed to Vilna. He feared trouble. The "Bund," the Russo-Jewish Socialist Labor Party, might attack him. Herzl having promised to return via Vilna, argument was useless.

"I shall never forget the day in Vilna," he writes. "That is no banquet phrase. . . . My arrival at the Russo-Polish frontier was the signal for ovations. I do not like this theatricality . . . but the thing became real because it became dangerous when the police, who paid great attention to me, forbade all gatherings, including my tour to the synagogue. However, I went through the excited Jewish streets to the communal building where the officials and deputations in crowded masses awaited me. The tone in which they greeted me was such that only by thinking of the possible newspaper reports could I withhold my own tears. The many addresses praised me much beyond my deserts but the misery of these heavily pressed people was real."

Herzl told the story frankly to the author a few days later, but we prefer to repeat this unique story of his day in Vilna from the pens of eye witnesses, for in the many strange and bizarre pages that make Jewish history the "Day in Vilna" stands without parallel.

"The whole Jewish population turned out to see him. At his reception in the communal building, the rabbis handed him the Scroll of the Law and a wailing went through the crowd. . . . In this grandiose outburst of emotion there was suddenly manifested the fact that two thousand years of miserable history had not destroyed the Messianic hope.¹

¹Davis Erdracht.

Another eye witness tells of the "Day in Vilna" in detail:

"Every effort on the part of the Vilna Zionists to obtain permission from the authorities to hold a mass meeting in honor of their leader had proved fruitless. Failing this, it was hoped that a banquet in the city hall might be allowed. Permission to hold this already had been given by minor city officials, but when it came up for final approval to the higher authorities, the whole affair assumed a political complexion and complications set in, so that on the eve of Herzl's arrival from St. Petersburg, it had to be completely abandoned.

"The collapse of the plan found the Vilna Zionist leaders in despair, but after lengthy deliberation it was finally decided to hold a banquet 'in honor of the celebrated Viennese writer, Dr. Theodor Herzl' (as he was formally styled), outside the city limits at the summer home of his 'friend,' I. Ben Jacob, on his estate, Werki.

"The Jewish masses, however, readily found a way to vent their enthusiasm and express their confidence in the great Zionist leader.

"As the whole affair of Herzl's trip to St. Petersburg had in the first place been kept a profound secret which only became common knowledge after its success and after Herzl had prepared for the return journey, the feelings of the Vilnaites, particularly those of the younger element, were very much aroused. Workers, artisans, factory-hands, and hundreds of students were on the lookout so as not to miss a glimpse of their guest, about whom many legends already circulated. They were indignant at the members of the local Zionist committee, who had kept the matter from them, and accused the Zionists of using Herzl's visit as a means of self-aggrandizement. And in order not to miss their visitor on his return trip from St. Petersburg, they arranged pickets at the station, whose task was to watch every train that arrived from the capital.

"At last arrived the red-letter day which was to live so long in the memory of Vilna Zionists, the sixteenth of August.

"From early morning all of Vilna Jewry was agog. Intense excitement, which was shared not merely by the Zionists, but even by those indifferent to the cause, prevailed. By ten o'clock in the morning the road leading to the railway

station had become a seething mass of humanity. At the station itself and the plaza which fronted it the crowd was so thick that the three representatives who were to receive Herzl could make their way through only with extreme difficulty. As the train drew in it was quite impossible for anyone to approach Herzl's coach. As he was at once recognized a burst of cheering and "*Hedod*" shouts marked the stampede of the crowd to surround its popular hero and his party.

"Accompanied by the throng, Herzl gradually made his way to the station where a carriage awaited him. At this point the reception committee managed to get to him and transmitted the greetings of the "Lithuanian Jerusalem." As Herzl stepped into the carriage the crowd gave vent to such a roar of cheers and shouts of "*Hedod*" as to intimidate the astonished police officials on the scene and to this incident may be ascribed the changed attitude of the police shown to the distinguished guest later in the day. . . .

"A suite had been prepared for Dr. Herzl and his party far from the Jewish quarters at the Hotel George. Immediately on his arrival he commenced perusing a mass of correspondence which had preceded him.

"Hardly had the Zionists arranged for the comfort of their guest, when a special messenger from the Chief of Police arrived with a regulation in the name of public order: viz., Herzl would not be allowed to pass through the Jewish and German quarters, since these streets were crowded and on no account would a public demonstration be permitted. Immediately afterwards came the acting chief of police and emphatically forbade a visit to the Synagogue or its courtyard.

"The local Zionists were at first disinclined to reveal their distress to Herzl, but were finally compelled to disclose the situation. Herzl besought them not to do anything which would antagonize the authorities, though he could not understand how a visit to the courtyard of the synagogue could be construed as a breach of public order.

"Hastily the Zionists proceeded to put into effect one item of their programme: A visit to the 'Benevolent Institution.' At two p. m. Herzl left the hotel and passed through tortuous side-streets to the Institute 'Zedakah Gedolah.'

"Here were assembled the elite of Vilna Jewry. Only those with cards of admission were allowed to enter. Two

representatives had been sent from each communal organization, while the Agudath ha-Zioneth had sent one delegate for every fifty members. Cards had also been given to three reporters and to the aged inmates of the institute.

"The reception was representative of every section of the population. Addresses of welcome were given by the delegates of each organization. One of the oldest Rabbis, Reb. Shlo-moh'le, dressed in honor of the day in the white robe of the Atonement service, presented Herzl with a Scroll of the Law and blessed him.

"In reply, Herzl expressed his gratitude at the signal honor they had shown him, an honor which, he regretted to say, was still undeserved, since the great idea, on whose behalf he was present, and in which he saw the solution of the Jewish question was as yet unrealized. He was convinced, however, that it would finally come into being. The task was as difficult as it was great. He was aware of the extreme poverty of the Jewish masses and understood perfectly their inability to wait much longer.

"In his speech Herzl was premonitory of the approaching Congress 'and something will happen to lighten the burden.' And he enjoined his hearers to give all of their attention to the coming Congress.

" 'I well know,' continued Herzl, 'that not all of those present agree with me concerning the future of the Jewish people, but I have not the faintest shadow of a doubt that all of you who are here to greet me desire with all your hearts the continued existence of Israel and are ready to work for its good and I entreat all who are seated here to participate with us in out nationalistic work.'

"Herzl then compared the various paths in Judaism to the coaches of one train. Each might be built of different material, but all were ultimately destined for one goal.

" 'And for our final goal we are all enjoined, each one of us according to his talent, power, and ability, to form one united front, since only then can our national entity succeed.'

"In his second speech, after receiving the Scroll of the Law, Herzl said:

" 'Tell your brethren that I am here to affirm my profound conviction, that of all the means possible to us as a radical settlement of our people's destiny, the Zionist way is not only the best, most just and practical, but also the nearest.'

"The supreme confidence of these words, the lofty spirit of the speech and the pleasant tone in which it was made produced a deep impression on those privileged to hear it. Many could not refrain from applauding, but others who had been taught by bitter experience begged the enthusiasts to desist in the name of everything that was holy, so that no sound be heard outside.

"And the fear that this little gathering might be discovered by the police was not unjustified. Hardly were the speeches ended, when a Pristav arrived, who demanded neither more nor less than that written guarantees be handed to him with the assurance that no carriages would appear on the streets, because the appearance of a carriage with the foreign doctor in it was itself enough to cause a demonstration. If this order were not obeyed, the police had orders to take the horses out of the shafts and prevent the passage of all carriages.

"Hastily the Zionist leaders took Herzl back to the hotel again by devious routes, where they remained confined to their rooms till nightfall.

"Messengers were sent to the Synagogue courtyard to appease the crowd and explain what had happened. Only then did the masses disperse.

"Meanwhile Herzl received a constant stream of visitors, official and private, in his room.

"At six p. m. the local Zionist leaders decided to release their guest from his confinement and conduct him to the outskirts of the city and thence to the Werki estate, by a detour. The drivers were instructed to drive first to Zwerinitz and then to their destination via Shnipishok. This was done with the object of misleading the authorities and of keeping the crowd from following. And the route they followed was indeed deserted; only in front of the Hotel George a crowd still waited in the hope of seeing Herzl. As he left the hotel, a cry of hurrah went up, and the police arrested some of the more vociferous.

"On the road to Werki, at the outskirts of Schnipishok, Herzl expressed a wish to visit some of the homes of the poorer Jews. To this his guides agreed, and they conducted him to some small huts, where he talked with the poverty-stricken dwellers, and questioned them about the means whereby they supported themselves and how they lived.

"Dr. N. Katzenelsohn of Libau recorded one story of Herzl's slumming.

"In a room sat a girl beside a sewing machine at her work. Turning to her, he greeted her and asked some questions about herself, her family, their earnings and their needs.

"She painted him a faithful picture of a father, mother and five children, boys and girls. Of the children, she and a brother were the only breadwinners. Their earnings were meagre. 'We put our trust in God above.' She worked ten, twelve, and even sixteen hours a day, according to the demand and the season. In response to the question as to whether her eyesight did not suffer on account of the long hours over the machine, she replied simply: 'Yes, sometimes.'

"Herzl stood there, downcast and silent.

"As this young girl told how she sometimes worked sixteen hours, his legs tottered as if about to give way.

"Her simple statement that she 'sometimes had eye-strain' visibly agitated him. The expression of his face and knit brows indicated his obvious emotion.

"When talking to his friends afterwards he would constantly say: 'Alas! What I saw in Vilna.'

"To the regret of the Zionists the day was cloudy and their wish to spend some time in the company of their great leader in the open air was impracticable. So the banquet had to be held in a barn which would only contain thirty or thirty-five people. All of the forty invited guests came and engaged in conversation and discussion with Herzl for about four hours.

"Besides the invited guests, there came on foot from the city, a distance of seven versts, a number of Zionists, men and women, who had learned in some manner of the 'secret' banquet. These remained outside the barn.

"Most of the time when speaking, Herzl turned towards his hearers 'outside,' greeting them as the representatives of the Jewish people, who would not always be compelled to remain outside, but would take the place of honor which befitted them at the festive board of nations.

"And the 'outside guests' sang Zionist songs the whole time, toasted their leader's health, cheered, and added to the cordiality of the gathering.

"At one in the morning I accompanied Dr. Herzl from the hotel to the station and from the corner of Trocki Street

there followed us an ever-increasing stream of people. On every balcony, beside the lamp posts, at the lit windows of houses they stood, caring nothing for the darkness of the night nor for the steady downpour. Herzl's coach was recognized and cries of "*Hedod*" rent the air, and as the party neared the station the crowd swelled in size. But even this pleasant spectacle did not pass without its victims and casualties. As some of these were being carried to the hospital, Herzl turned to me and said bitterly, 'Alas! What is happening here? Is it possible that people are still being beaten?' I tried to soothe him, but he kept on repeating, 'How is it possible to live in such a country?'

"On entering the station Dr. Herzl's face was contorted and deathly-pale. His features registered the emotion which he felt. The station and its yard were empty, as the administration had refused the Jews permission to enter, unless luggage for a journey was carried. However, by some means there was an attendance of about forty present. I discovered later that those who lived in the neighborhood of the station had gone home and procured traveling-bags, and so were admitted through the police-lines. This little group attempted to soften the bitterness of the parting from their distinguished guest, who was overcome as a result of what he had witnessed that day.

"He earnestly besought us not to do anything which might tend to disturb the peace of his last moments in Vilna, as he very keenly regretted being the occasion of his unfortunate brothers being beaten and imprisoned.

"His last words to us were: 'Do not let your spirits fall, brothers. Better days are coming. They must come and it is this we work for.'"¹

The horror remained with Herzl. "In the morning at Eydtkuhnen a group of Zionists awaited me at this Russian frontier town.

"Another speech and a bouquet.

"That was Russia."

¹Related by Boris Goldberg to S. L. Citron, author of *A Hebrew Biography of Herzl*. (Vilna, 1921.)

CHAPTER XVIII

UGANDA CONGRESS

Surprises at the Sixth Congress—Presents Von Plehve's letter and British offer of East Africa—Nordau and Zangwill defend "nacht asyl" policy—Congress split—Herzl and the "nays"—The closing address—The immediate effect on Turkey—Preparing for victory.

ALTHOUGH we have for years been widely apart on the Jewish question, still I believe I should tell you something will happen at Basle which the *Neue Freie Presse* cannot ignore. . . . Prepare to publish it, for it will be impossible not to publish it." This letter to Bacher of the *Neue Freie Presse* expresses the spirit in which Herzl prepared to attend the sixth Zionist Congress. From Vilna he went directly to Alt-Aussee to spend a few hours with his family who were summering at their favorite resort. For the first time his mother accompanied him to a Zionist Congress.

The sessions were held at Basle beginning Sunday, August 23. It was the greatest of the six congresses. Roumania, Kishineff, and the Minsk conference had swelled the Zionist ranks. Both the Russian and the American organizations had, between the fifth and sixth Congresses, more than doubled their numbers. The delegates numbered 592 and visitors came from all parts of central Europe. The galleries were so crowded that there was fear that they might break down from the unusual burden imposed on them. Two men were conspicuously

absent. Ussischkin had gone to Palestine, where he was at that moment holding a conference, an obvious attempt to obtain from the now keenly interested Palestinian settlers support for colonisation and Hebraic culture ideas, as against Herzl's diplomatic efforts. Later it appeared, however, that Ussischkin had used Herzl's name as the open sesame to the hearts of the colonists who, after 1898, had come to cherish as well as understand that leader who had spent only a few days among them. Dr. Gaster, owing to illness in his family, also was absent. But there were many new faces, perhaps most conspicuous among them Col. A. E. W. Goldsmid, the erstwhile English leader of the "Lovers of Zion"; Cyrus L. Sulzberger and Prof. Louis Ginsburg of New York; and Alfred Nossig and Prof. Warburg, both of Berlin.

The delegates began to assemble in Basle three days before the sessions began. They were on the *qui vive*. The Minsk conference and Herzl's wonderful but still unexplained trip to Russia had brought a crowd of Russian Zionists to Basle, who were caucusing and conferring day and night. The German organization had grown and its delegates were in session at St. Ludwig. Hour by hour Basle witnessed the incursion of East European rabbis as well as delegates who proudly came from as far away as Argentine, South Africa, Morocco, and the Caucasus. One delegate walked in forty-two days from a Bulgarian town to Basle. The pre-Congress conferences betrayed no excitement—only curiosity. The Russian delegates expected no Zionist coup by way of response to the Kishineff massacre. The Mizrachi, or religious right wing, which had grown powerful, busied itself with making clear that apart from a demand for

recognition of its general religious conservatism it stood for political Zionism as against the left or radical wing which, in addition to its socialist labor interests, supported Young Zion in its democratic leanings and the Kulturists in their education program.

The overwhelming mass of the delegates expected to witness a struggle between the "center" group and the strong and active minority who were determined to revive the old Lovers of Zion policy of immediate colonization on a small scale in Palestine, to which they superadded their policy of applied Kultur as outlined at the conference held the previous October; the "center" aided by the Mizrachi had decided to maintain Herzl's general diplomatic political agitation policy combined with his Palestinian non-infiltration attitude. These issues were bound to arouse much excitement and debate. The rapid growth of the Zionist movement had produced many new phenomena. "Kultur" itself had two aspects. First, was the general national education program to which the orthodox Jews objected as interference with their religious views and practises in education. Second, there had arisen among the younger Kultur advocates a form of mysticism—a kind of metaphysical interpretation of the spirit or genius of the Jewish race. It was not a re-approach to Biblical Hebraism, but an embellishment and refining of the Jew evolved by centuries of ghetto experience. On the other hand the extreme left, or labor group, were clamoring for some recognition of their programme, first because they believed the Jewish homeland should be developed on socialistic lines, and second because they thought they could by the acceptance of their views gain support for Zionism among the radical Jewish groups in the general trade union movements

and particularly among the Russian Bundists. Lastly there was in attendance at the Congress a small group of old Zionists who stood apart from all these contentious issues and who were devoting themselves to the difficult and distasteful task of improving the machinery of the organization. The Vienna executive had in the wide spread of the movement begun to lose contact with its supporters. What was feasible in Vienna had no application to a group of Zionists in a mountain town in the Urals, or in the placid environment of San Francisco. Each congress in turn saw the constitution revised with an air of finality, only to require a serious overhauling at the next gathering. There were academic as well as practical views of the problem. The Congress had in the eyes of many delegates become a necessary and guiding factor in the machinery of organization. The era of expectancy was over—the belief in ultimate victory achieved by organized effort had developed.

Into this seething mass of groping delegates Herzl came with his mother on August 21. He looked old and worn. There were brown and grey streaks in his erstwhile jet black beard. His immediate tactics were bad. He knew that he would encounter serious opposition and he had no reason to anticipate that he could achieve a coup by surprise. Less than a dozen men were in his confidence. Nevertheless, he convened the Greater Actions Comite immediately on his arrival, and after pledging them to secrecy threw the von Plehve letter on the table. The majority of the Russian members were aghast. They wanted no dealings with the inspirer of Kishineff. They did not wish to know publicly what they knew already, that Russia wanted to be rid of its Jews. This was a painful thrust at their self-respect,



THE SIXTH ZIONIST CONGRESS, HERZL PRESIDING.

far more impressive than any Russian promise to aid the cause in Constantinople. Nor were they ready to accept von Plehve's allocation of funds for emigration from the Jewish communal taxes. They recognized their dilemma. They could not discuss publicly an official document without incurring the risk of arrest. They begged Herzl to file the letter in the archives of the organization. Herzl persisted he would explode his "bomb." He had no interest in posterity's verdict upon his achievement and it was the means by which he would force the hands of the Sultan. He went further, attacking by name those Russian members who had avoided meeting him in St. Petersburg. And before they could draw a breath, he announced another "bomb"—a charter from England for East Africa. He read a letter Greenberg had sent him from London and which reached him in Vilna. Then he gave the perspiring members a respite. It was the hour of the Sabbath. At its expiration Greenberg, who was still traveling, would exhibit in Herzl's room at the Trois Rois, the official offer of England to the Jews.

There was no Sabbath calm for this Greater Actions Comite suddenly engulfed in the mazes of Herzlian diplomacy. Saturday night they trooped in and read that strange epistle bound with red tape and sealed with a British seal. They read and re-read it. Dr. Yechiel Tschlenow, titular head of the Russian Zionists, a Moscow physician, reading it slowly, recited over that document "the blessing of the first fruits." But emotion merely added to consternation—where was Palestine? Herzl was imperious. The first impression was favorable. The Russian members were willing to vote for the policy Herzl propounded to them. The Congress truly was sur-

rounded by Russian spies, and a representative of the Sultan had somewhat conspicuously taken rooms in the hotel. Herzl's answer to all questions was they must take his word for it. The charter for Palestine was written in invisible ink in that sheet of official British paper. If they would follow him he would within a few months make it visible so that all men could read it.

II.

The following morning the Congress opened with the usual eclat and demonstrations. In his presidential address he began with a significant sentence: "Like a flood tide misery has come over Jewry," and passed directly to the moral of the massacre. The whole Congress, delegates and audience arose, as Herzl uttered the word "Kishineff" and remained silently standing as he read that part of his address and then as silently sat down.

"The bloody days of the Bessarabian town shall not make us forget that there is many another Kishineff, even beyond the borders of Russia. The spirit of Kishineff hovers over every place where Jews are physically or morally afflicted, dishonored, impoverished, because they are Jews. Let us save those that can still be saved.

"It is high time; whoever sees the visible tokens must appreciate the fact that an extremely serious change for the worse has taken place. We Zionists prophesied this change years ago—and now that it has come we feel it most.

"In the last two decades of the nineteenth century emigration was regarded in Jewish circles as a means of salvation. That was all very well if everything else were disregarded—the misery of the emigrants, the cruelty of the new conditions upon which they entered ill-prepared, the national loss through ever new dispersions. It was satisfactory for just so long as the lands to which the immigration was directed did not protect themselves against this invasion of a desperate proletariat.

"We are now entering upon a new epoch. The countries

to which the immigration has hitherto been chiefly directed have begun to close their doors while, or because, Jewish distress in Eastern Europe is on the increase. And yet they are countries on whose high state of civilization it would be simply madness to cast any doubt. These states believe it to be necessary to place limits upon their customary humanity—I am speaking ironically—and to deal politically with the Jewish Question, which for them is the question of Jewish immigration. Only among us Jews do many refuse in their fear to see therein a political measure. This fear will inspire us more with pity than with anger if we understand it aright. It is a panic-stricken emotion inherited from the Ghetto.

“Meanwhile, events have taken their uninterrupted course. In England, the last hitherto entirely free asylum, a Royal Commission on Alien Immigration was appointed. It was the immigration of aliens, not to say of Jews, that was under examination. The conclusions arrived at in the report leave, however, no room for doubt as to which immigration was the real question. One can visibly see what a hard fight free and noble England is having with herself, how difficult it is for her to frame harsh measures against poor creatures, how she conducts a long and tedious examination before coming to a definite decision. For there are certain ancient principles, glorious as standards, that would not remain untouched did England cease to grant a refuge to innocent, unhappy beings that come to her shores. The same may be said of America, which has become great because it granted this asylum.

“Our work is daily becoming better appreciated by the governments of those countries which are affected by the immigration. Our solution, which aims at helping the Jewish people to a home of their own, so completely corresponds to the general feeling that some such measure is necessary. It must eventually succeed. But the work is not easy. There are difficulties, to overcome which an extraordinary amount of patience and loyalty is requisite. This is, however, merely an experience we acquire on the road. Evil days come upon us when hard-won achievements slip through our hands, and promising beginnings come to nothing; as long as a movement is young and weak the leaders have to fear that such discouragements may demoralize its adherents, and to a certain amount of disappointment and weariness must be added the cares for

the continuation of the work, for the discovery of new means, and the endurance of their coadjutors. Even that has its good side. Many are lost to the movement whose desertion implies no loss. Some go because their vanity is offended, others again because they care to participate only in successful undertakings and many more for various other reasons. But those remain whom every sacrifice they bring renders more loyal. With such as these the movement can progress, to such as these can be told all there is to tell. We thought of these when we summoned this Congress, when we believed we should have nothing more to report than the breaking off of negotiations and the failure of long prepared attempts. Events, meanwhile, somewhat belied our fears.

"Since the Fifth Congress I have twice been honored by a summons from His Majesty the Sultan to repair to Constantinople. On both occasions, however, in February and in August, 1902, the negotiations were without result. I could naturally accept nothing that was not in harmony with our Basle programme, and, in particular, scattered, divided colonies in various parts of the Turkish Empire did not satisfy our national requirements. The only definite act which these difficult negotiations disclose is that His Majesty the Sultan continues to be sympathetically disposed towards the Jewish people. This is certainly a matter for congratulation, but, valuable though it be, it does not result in practical progress. Now that the favorable attitude of the Sovereign, and the undoubted advantages accruing to Turkey were mutually assured, the obstacle was to be sought in the attitude of the Powers interested in the Orient, and particularly that of Russia. For no opposition was to be anticipated from Germany after the memorable sympathy expressed on one occasion by the German Emperor. When, in 1898, I had the honor of being received in Jerusalem with a Zionist deputation, His Majesty assured our movement of his favor. The word of an emperor cannot be twisted and turned.

"Nor was hostility to be expected from England, as the events which I am about to report will demonstrate.

"After the failure of the last negotiations in Constantinople, and in view of increasing distress, we had to find other ways. In October of last year, I accordingly put myself in communication with certain members of the British Cabinet

and laid before them the proposal that they should grant us a concession of land in the Sinai Peninsula, in order that we might found there a settlement for our people. Both the Ministers, to whom I desire here to express my warmest thanks, and the high government officials who had to deal with this matter, received me with the greatest sympathy and courtesy. I was given to understand that as the territory which we had in view was Egyptian it was necessary to treat directly with the Egyptian Government. The English Government, however, very kindly placed its recommendation at my disposal, and expressed the hope to Lord Cromer that the plan would be favorably considered by him and the advisers of His Highness the Khedive. The British Government suggested as a preliminary step the despatch of a commission of experts who would investigate the adaptability of the territory for settlement, and the prospects of successful colonization.

"After protracted negotiations, our representative received a communication from the Egyptian Government in which the authorities expressed themselves in agreement with the principle of the proposed charter. This document stipulated Jewish autonomous government for the territory in question, and granted municipal rights for the whole area, with the proviso that the commission return a favorable report so as to convince the Government as to the feasibility of the settlement of the peninsula.

"At the beginning of March the Commission returned to Egypt, and I myself proceeded there in order to meet it.

"Protracted negotiations followed which, however, I regret to say, had the result that the Egyptian Government declared its inability to proceed further in the matter, as the experts' reports stated that it was impossible sufficiently to water the Pelusian Plain, thus preventing the settlement of El-Arisch or any other part of the peninsula. When the members of the British Government, with whom I had previously been in communication, became aware of the expert reports made to the Egyptian Government and of the decisions at which the latter had perforce arrived, they immediately made me an offer, by way of substitute, of another territory for the purpose of Jewish colonization.

"The new territory has not the historical, religious, and Zionist value which the Sinai Peninsula would have pos-

sessed, but I do not doubt that the Congress, as representing the Jewish Masses, will receive the new offer with the warmest gratitude. The proposal consists of an autonomous Jewish settlement in East Africa with Jewish administration, Jewish local government, with a Jewish Governor at its head, all of course under the British suzerain control. When this proposal was made I did not consider myself justified, in view of the condition of Jewry and the necessity of at once seeking a means of ameliorating the situation as far as possible, in taking any other course than that of obtaining permission to submit the proposal to the Congress. As the matter was of such extreme interest for us all it was necessary that the proposal should be constituted in such a way as to harmonize with those national ideals that are so dear to us. Our representative, therefore, carried on for some time comprehensive negotiations with the members of the British Cabinet and heads of departments, and these negotiations took a favorable course.

"I should not like to anticipate what the view of the Congress will be as to the policy the Zionist movement should follow with reference to these proposals. While, of course, the Jewish people can have no other goal than Palestine, and although—whatever be the fate of the proposals—our views as to the land of our fathers are unalterable and must remain unchanged, yet the Congress will recognize what an extraordinary advance our movement has made through the negotiations with the British Government. I may say that our views in regard to Palestine were fully explained with the utmost frankness to the members of the British Cabinet and the high government officials with whom we had to deal. I believe the Congress can find means of taking advantage of the offer.

"This offer was made in such a way as necessarily to contribute to the improvement and alleviation of the lot of the Jewish people, without our being required to abandon any of those great principles upon which our movement is based.

"It does not appear to me to be practical to lay before the entire Congress the details of the proposal, to which I earnestly direct your special attention. It seems to me it would be better to ask you to elect a small sub-committee to deal with the whole matter. Whatever decision may be arrived at in regard to it, I may safely say that we all of us feel deep gratitude for the statesmanlike sympathy which Great Britain has

displayed toward the Jewish people in these negotiations.

"It is true that it is not Zion and can never become Zion. It is merely a provisional measure of colonization, but, be it noted, on a national and self-governing basis. We cannot and shall not give our masses the signal to start thither. It is and must remain purely an emergency measure which is to remedy the present chaotic powerlessness of all philanthropic undertakings, and obviate the loss of scattered sections of the race.

"Such was the state of affairs when the last change in the situation took place, which, though but a few days old, represents a very important development.

"Well-known events rendered it necessary for me to travel to Russia in the interest of the Jewish people. I had the welcome opportunity of coming into relations with the Russian Government, and I may say that I met with a certain recognition of Zionist endeavors, and heard, besides, expressions of willingness to do something decisive on our behalf. I must confess, moreover, that on this occasion I was not merely the representative of a party—you will not take it ill—but I spoke not only for the Zionists, but for all the Jews of Russia. I endeavored to advocate certain improvements in their sad lot, and received the assurance that such alleviation would shortly be considered.

"Of more significance were the assurances which I received as to the Zionist movement. I am in a position to state that the Russian Government will place no obstacle in the way of Zionism if it retains, as hitherto, a peaceful and law-abiding character. The Russian Government is further prepared to co-operate in an emigration conducted by the Zionists when once financial guarantees are forthcoming.

"Lastly, and upon this the greatest stress must be laid, the Russian Government is prepared to support our efforts for the acquisition of Palestine by its influence with His Majesty the Sultan.

"The significance of this declaration, which I am in a position to communicate to the Zionist Congress, is probably apparent to everybody. Such a promise on the part of the Russian Government signifies a diplomatic achievement that cannot be too highly estimated. Not only is an enormous obstacle removed but a powerful ally has suddenly arisen. The effects of this development are, it is true, still to be seen, but, with

renewed courage and a better outlook than ever before, we can resume our efforts to obtain Eretz Yisrael.

"There will, of course, still be people who will only look on the dark side of these achievements. The help of the Powers, people will say, is no desirable feature. They either want to get rid of us, or to keep us out. Very well, if that implies an injustice to our people we shall give our answer in the future. In our future, in our land! And this answer will consist in raising human civilization!"

The address was well received. The formal routine of organization of the Congress was carried out without difficulty and the normal business proceeded with. But the delegates had only faintly grasped all that Herzl had conveyed to them in his message. While the cheering continued the leaders of the various federations began to summon their groups for consultation. Even so the established routine of the sessions controlled the delegates and the afternoon was given over to a long report of the Actions Comite which was freely criticised. Davis Trietsch, the original instigator of the Cyprus project and the advance herald also of the El Arisch plan, led the attack, and Herzl ignoring the excitement he had created by his address, sat below the tribune and took copious notes with a blue pencil and eventually replied in terms that touched the fine edge of sarcasm permitted in parliamentary debates. In fact, for a spell the Congress forgot the "bombs" and watched Herzl demolish his critics, and Nordau, who presided deftly, prevented all discussion of the burning issue by ruling it as inadmissible until Herzl's address had been printed and circulated.

The second day was opened by Nordau's regular congress address. The "Kulturists" had threatened to booh him but they made no attempt at such a demon-



HERZL AND A GROUP OF DELEGATES AT SIXTH CONGRESS.

stration. Nordau was by no means convinced of the wisdom of Herzl's brusque tactics in forcing both the Russian and East African projects simultaneously on the Congress. But he undertook the task of aiding the delegates in digesting both measures.

"Our president communicated to us yesterday two facts which spread a hitherto unfamiliar light across our path. He conveyed to us the intelligence that the British Government is prepared to grant a concession of land to the Jewish people with the authoritative expression of the wish of the British Government to evince its sympathy for the Jewish people and to help it in its endeavors to help itself. The chairman further stated that the Russian Government had given him officially to understand that Russia was disposed to further our efforts for the settlement of Palestine. Four Powers, including the greatest that hold sway over the globe, have expressed themselves as favorably disposed, if not to the Jewish people, at any rate to the Zionist movement.

"The fourth item of the Basle programme, on the granite composition of which the snarlers and back-biters will break their teeth, speaks in its necessary and deliberate terseness, which admits of no broad examination of details nor any expansion of its laconically expressed idea—it speaks, I repeat, of the 'steps for obtaining the assent of the governments which are necessary for Zionism to achieve its end.' This sentence has always had the good fortune of being regarded by every opponent of Zionism as a thorn in the side. Round this sentence the wit of our opponents has played the most. 'This assent of the governments,' we were ironically told again and again, 'you will never, never obtain.'

"Russia, whom we were told to recognize and fear as the insurmountable obstacle in our path, Russia declared in a friendly way that it has absolutely no objection to the occupation of Palestinean soil by Jews.

"We want to be in Palestine citizens with full privileges with the generally recognized historical rights of original inhabitants, and we ask the Governments to help us attain this goal. That, I repeat, may appear to be a small matter to contemporary observers; as a matter of fact, it is a turning point in the history of the Jewish people.

"We have asked. Since the world began there have ever been but two methods of obtaining anything. These two methods may be succinctly stated in the words: take it or ask for it.

"We are neither in a position nor desire to take anything, so we are thrown back upon the second method, that of asking. It is strange, but literally true, that before the rise of Zionism we absolutely did not ask. Among ourselves we heaved deep sighs, expressed longing desires in prose and verse, pressed each other's hands with significant looks, but we have never stood before the Powers, and in an unequivocal form openly and distinctly stated what we wanted.

"To have altered all that appears little, but in reality it is very much. We had asked! We had asked that Palestine—due provision naturally being made for safeguarding the suzerain rights of the Sultan and equally naturally for the extra-territorialization of the Holy Places to which all Christendom turns with devotion and love, but at the same time given the essential minimum of autonomous rights without which we could not live our national life—we have asked that Palestine with these conditions should be opened to our occupation.

"When on a recent occasion Jewry had to give its answer to a terrible outrage we remarked that in all countries where Jews dwelt money was collected. Within a few weeks 2,000,000 francs were collected, which proved that this time our rich Jews had dipped deep into their pockets. With that their efforts ended. The money was forwarded to the scene of the disaster with the message, 'Here is money. Now stop where you are and keep quiet.' Our millionaires turned to our enemies in arms and said to them: 'So you have been murdering, outraging and destroying? Here is money for the relief of the widows and orphans.'

"It is not my fault if even the most terrible tragedy resolves into a farce, when what has hitherto been known as official Jewry puts its finger in the pie.

"I do not wish to be misunderstood. Nothing could be further from my intention than to make light of Jewish charity. I would do my people a grievous wrong did I not recognize and appreciate its noblest and most touching virtue. The Jews are deserving of all praise, who, without a moment's hesitation, have generously helped whenever the cry of distress has gone forth. We cannot sufficiently often and sufficiently emphatically repeat what our President said yesterday: 'No. With

charity alone nothing, absolutely nothing, has been done.' Is it not a bitter mockery that the millions we could not obtain for our Colonial Trust, the Bank of Emancipation, were gotten together in a moment, when it meant their vanishing in the background to remain fruitless forever.

"Before attaining the unalterable goal of the Jewish settlement of Palestine there must only be one halting place on the road and one provisional task—*i. e.* the founding of a temporary refuge for our hundred thousand unhappy brethren—Zionists or non-Zionists, it is all the same, it suffices that they are Jews who, unlike us who are settled, have already emigrated, and, like a shuttlecock, are being tossed to and fro from continent to continent, from ocean to ocean, and who would perish did we not do something to save them. For these hundred thousand, before we can give them a permanent home, we must open a refuge.

"I see such a refuge in the colony for which the British Government is prepared, under certain conditions, to grant us land."

Nordau had added another phrase to the terminology of Zionism, "Nacht Asyl," and he was received with tremendous applause and much waving of handkerchiefs. He had filled in, elaborated, and explained the Herzl policy.

Another long secret session of the Greater Actions Comite became necessary before the von Plehve document saw the light. The trick of presenting it without permitting it to become the subject of debate was turned by publishing it in the official organ of the movement, *Die Welt*. There was sufficient self discipline in these hundreds of delegates that not a man broke the gentleman's agreement to refrain from publicly discussing it. The document signed by von Plehve, Minister of the Interior, read:

"St. Petersburg, July 30 (August 12, new style).

"You have expressed the desire to retain proof of your

interview with me. I agree to this willingly in order to avoid all which might arouse exaggerated hopes or doubts and anxiety. I have had the occasion to make known to you the point of view from which the Russian Government at the present moment regards Zionism. This point of view could very easily inspire it with the necessity of exchanging its policy of tolerance for measures dictated by its safeguarding of national interests.

"So long as Zionism consisted of the desire to create an independent state in Palestine and promised to organize the emigration in Russia of a certain number of its Jewish subjects, the Russian Government could very well be favorable to it. But from the moment that this principal object of Zionism is abandoned in order to be replaced by a simple propaganda of the national concentration of the Jews in Russia, it is natural that the Government cannot in any case tolerate this new departure of Zionism. It would not have any other result than to create groups of individuals, perfect strangers to and even hostile to the patriotic sentiments which constitute the strength of each state.

"This is why faith could not be placed in Zionism, but on the condition that it return to its old programme of action. It could in that case count upon moral and material support for certain of its practical measures which would serve to diminish the Jewish population in Russia. This support might consist in protecting the mandatories of the Zionists to the Ottoman Government, and in facilitating the work of the emigration societies, and even in assisting these societies, evidently outside the resources of the state, by means of contributions levied on the Jews.

"I think it necessary to add that the Russian Government is obliged to conform its manner of acting toward the Jewish question to the interests of the state, but it has, nevertheless, never deviated from its great moral principles and the interests of humanity. Quite recently, besides, it has enlarged the rights of residence in the confines of the localities set apart for the Jewish population, and nothing prevents the hope that the development of these measures will serve to ameliorate the conditions of existence of the Russian Jews, especially if emigration diminishes their number.

The official English offer was still held back but Zang-

will, who was slated to discuss Zionism and charitable institutions, went more eagerly if indirectly to the defense of the "night refuge" than Nordau had. His attitude was "a century of 'Kultur' is not equal to a decade of agriculture on a soil of our own." "Although no country can vie with Palestine as the goal of our aspirations yet there is no soil under the sun which, if only it were Jewish, would not ultimately wipe out all the physical and spiritual evils I have enumerated." "The soul is greater than the soil, and the Jewish soul can create its Palestine anywhere, without necessarily losing the historic aspiration for the Holy Land."

The procedure enabled Herzl to keep the actual terms of the British offer in the background till the critical hour. The principle involved was discussed for practically two days without the general body of the delegates having a glimpse of the formal document. Herzl practically asked for a vote of confidence in his loyalty as a Zionist. The discussion was orderly if exciting, Nordau undertaking throughout to defend the leader's position. But for the first time in the history of the movement political "machine" tactics became necessary. Every delegation was split and Herzl's chief lieutenants undertook to "line up" a majority which would not only strengthen him but impress the British Government. It was a long and arduous task to convince the delegates of the merits of a new and strange project. No one knew anything about "Uganda," as it was called. The Congress was emotionally opposed to tampering with its programme. The old time opposition to Herzl had an excellent case. It fell foul of his "autocracy." Even so, while there was no doubt that Herzl would win, there was grave doubt when he announced that he would demand a roll call, whether the

majority would be worth while, whether the victory would be impressive enough to serve his purpose.

At the dramatic moment on Tuesday, August 26, Leopold J. Greenberg, the instrument of all this new pothor in Zionism, ascended the tribune and formally presented the British offer to the Congress. Greenberg was careful to explain that in his personal view the Congress was not in the least bound to accept the offer of the English Government, an offer which was only due to the wish to see the position of the Jewish race improved.

The exact territory had not yet been decided. The region which Mr. Chamberlain said would suit the colony lay between Nairobi and Mau Escarpment. It was described as a highland, and its climate like that in the southern part of England. The land between Nairobi and Mau Escarpment was on the railway from Mombassa to Port Florence. Should the concession be made, the British Government would grant an area comprising between 200 to 300 square miles. The document Greenberg presented was dated, "Foreign Office, August 14, 1903:

Mr. Chamberlain communicated to the Marquis of Lansdowne the letter which you addressed to him on the 13th ult., containing the form of an agreement which Dr. Herzl proposes should be entered into between His Majesty's Government and the Jewish Colonial Trust, Ltd., for the establishment of a Jewish settlement in East Africa. His lordship has also had under his consideration the remarks made by you on the 6th inst. on the occasion of your interview in this office with Sir E. Barrington and Mr. Hurst.

"I am now directed by his lordship to say that he has studied the question with the interest which His Majesty's Government must always take in any well-considered scheme for the amelioration of the position of the Jewish race. The time at his disposal had been too short to enable him to go fully

into the details of the plan, or to discuss it with His Majesty's Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate, and he regrets that he is, therefore, unable to pronounce any definite opinion on the matter. He understands that the Trust desires to send some gentlemen to the East Africa Protectorate, who may ascertain personally whether there are any vacant lands suitable for the purpose in question, and if this is so he will be happy to give them every facility to enable them to discuss with His Majesty's Commissioner the possibility of meeting the view which may be expressed at the forthcoming Zionist Congress in regard to the conditions upon which a settlement might be possible.

"If a site can be found which the Trust and His Majesty's Commissioner consider suitable and which commends itself to his Government, Lord Lansdowne will be prepared to entertain favorably proposals for the establishment of a Jewish colony or settlement on conditions which will enable the members to observe their national customs. For this purpose he will be prepared to discuss (if a suitable site had been found, and subject to the views of the advisers of the Secretary of State in East Africa) the details of a scheme comprising as its main features the grant of a considerable area of land, the appointment of a Jewish official as the chief of the local administration, and permission to the colony to have a free hand in regard to municipal legislation as to the management of religious and purely domestic matters, such local autonomy being conditional upon the right of His Majesty's Government to exercise general control.

"There is no need at present to consider the details of the terms upon which the land would be granted, whether by sale or lease, but his lordship assumes that no portion of the administrative expenses of the settlement would fall on His Majesty's Government, and the latter would reserve power to reoccupy the land if the settlement should not prove a success.

"I am, etc.

"CLEMENT HILL."

V.

The effect of the reading in English by Greenberg, and by Nordau in German, was impressive. Nordau re-

peated very slowly Greenberg's excellent closing phrase: "There is a political as well as a geographical road to Zion." . . . "The first sealed and signed British offer—there was no precedent in Jewish history for the sympathy and gigantic character of this act of England. It stunned the public as it had stunned the private audience. Instead of taking a vote immediately Herzl allowed two hours to digest it. The Congress building was a hive, a buzzing hive. The excitement was so intense that the majority even forgot to take their meals. The actual vote was on the question whether or not the Congress approve the formation of a commission for the purpose of sending an investigatory expedition to East Africa. None of the funds of the Zionist organization was to be employed for this and the expedition's report would be presented at the next Congress, which would decide what action was desirable. The roll call followed. It was a long, solemn process. The left wing voted no; the Teutonic element, if it may be so called, with few exceptions, voted yes." The majority was distinct. Two-thirds of the Congress said yes. Eighty delegates held their peace. Some were absent. The motion was carried: For, 295; against, 177; majority, 118.

When the figures were announced the Russian members of the Actions Comite dramatically quitted the hall in protest. They were followed by the rest of those who had voted nay.

Dr. Herzl sat there as calm as ever. He threw Sir Francis Montefiore into the breach with an address on organization and propaganda, and the session continued for more than an hour; then it slowly faded out. The minority had adjourned to the smaller congress hall. It debated, wept, gesticulated, fumed. This display of



DELEGATE AND SOUVENIR CARD USED AT THE SIXTH
CONGRESS.

emotion began about 6 p. m. It reached an hysterical condition about 10. Men began to sit on the floor mourning in orthodox fashion for a dead Zion.

Word of this reached Herzl at his hotel. Without hesitation he rushed to the congress building. The nays had locked themselves in. Shouting his name he hammered at the door until it opened and dramatically he strode through the weeping and disconsolate delegates and addressed them:

"I found the world placed us in a false position. We Jews were condemned, despised, an untolerated minority. I was born in that environment; so were my children. I have imposed my personality on the world in order to change that environment for myself, my children, and all those who will go with me. I have not changed and I will not change. I see a way to victory. It is a roundabout way to Zion but it will lead there because I am determined. We shall reach there. I ask no man who cannot in good conscience follow me to go with me. I started alone, and I can start again single handed. I respect your opposition. If you feel you must separate from the majority and shatter temporarily what we have created with so much pain and with so much hard labor, then go your way. Do as I did, impose yourselves on the world and force from it a victory for the Jewish people."

The opposition was honestly disconsolate. They pleaded with him, but he would not stultify himself. There was in his attitude something so strong, so earnest, and so much of sympathy for their pleadings and so much of unexplained assurance that he would win Zion itself, that at two a. m. the caucus yielded without terms or conditions and decided to return to their seats at the morning session.

The routine business of the Congress continued till almost the eve of the Sabbath, Friday, August 28. The nominations were a revelation. The opposition submitted

no candidate against Herzl. Only three delegates voted against his sixth re-election as President. Greater tribute than that could not be offered a leader. This united action was a matter of rejoicing; despite its rocking the movement stood firm.

His closing address, the last he was ever to deliver to any Congress, began with a reference to the approaching Sabbath hour.

"You are aware what limits we must put on our deliberations. The Sabbath is beckoning to us, and as President of this assembly, permit me to express the wish that this peace which already prevails among you continue upon us all after the closing of the Congress. The sixth Congress in many ways has been remarkable. Much has satisfied us, much has been burdensome. Amongst the things that encourage us, I count the greetings sent us for the first time by the Jewish Community of Basle. It has been a difficult, but permit me to say, it has been an important Congress; not only on account of the number of delegates, but by reason of the character of our deliberations. It has been proved in characteristic fashion that the Zionists can be relied upon. We have seen the truth of the proverb, 'On ne s'appuie que sur ce qui resiste.' We can lean only on what is capable of resisting. So we have seen in our decision by which each of us took upon himself personal responsibility, that a majority of the Congress, perhaps heavy of heart, had confidence in the leaders, because they felt and understood that the leaders were in a very difficult position. This is not intended as a reproach to the minority; they proved that they are loyal to the cause and have exhibited their point of view. I must admit we cannot always follow the crow's flight. We cannot always travel in the clouds. Cloudland travel is not practicable as long as airships are not available. If it were possible to proceed by the straight cloud path no leader would be required, for all our people know where Zion is. Nor do I think that our masses need suffer more in order to make them good Zionists. Their strength means Zionist strength. But because many misunderstandings have arisen among us, I must repeat before we part, 'This is not Zion and can never be.'

"If you read those words again, which you have already forgotten, you will readily admit that they might have found place in a speech made by one of our presumed opponents. And if you think words I have quoted a mere phrase then I repeat my other observation. 'It does not entitle us to give the signal for the exodus to the great mass of our people.'

"Therefore, I repeat, after all that has passed that not for a single second, not with a single thought, have we departed from the Basle programme. When in a difficult moment—which is not an infrequent occurrence—I thought that all hope must be abandoned at least for the span of normal life, I was about to propose an expedient to you, and having learned to know your hearts, I also desired to offer you a word of consolation, which is at once a pledge on my part."

Slowly, with right hand extended, he quoted the Hebrew for "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning."

A great ovation followed this recital. He restored quiet in the overwrought assembly and continued:

"It was not necessary to offer you words of consolation. For, as I have already said, a new hope greater than all others has risen for Palestine—the help promised by the Russian Government. Therefore, no modification, no deviation in the Basle programme. Allow me, therefore, to recall one touching incident in connection with the voting. During the roll call the name was read out of a man now old who has devoted the whole of his life to Palestine, a man who modestly kept in the background. I expected him to vote no. It was Dr. Joseph Chazanowitch. He voted yes, because he had faith in the leaders. And I take note of the fact that those Rabbis who had not stricken Zion out of prayer books, the Chief Rabbi of Florence, the Rabbis of Lida and Sopotzkin, also voted yes. But—and it is the first word of self-assertion of which I am guilty—I am the pledge itself of this Basle programme in the drafting of which I co-operated. Why should I have given my strength to create this Congress, which in a small way, and in a rudimentary form suggests the beginning of better conditions? Freedom of conscience and respect for all faiths and political views, on a national basis; equality for women, the

co-operation of the weak, and many other things are in our programme. The Congress is our first institution, and I trust it may ever remain the best, highest, and most worthy until we transplant it to the beautiful land of our fathers, the land which we need not explore to love."

The Congress rose, and the audience rose; it was a picturesque moving scene. The thunder of applause had rolled, when Herzl repeated the Hebrew pledge, but now it was a cannonade and a fusillade. He mastered the emotion of the five hundred delegates for another sentence.

"I repeat our thanks to the City of Basle and the Sixth Congress is ended."

Here, then, was the end. The leader stepped backward, but the whole Congress rushed forward, making accidentally one of those groups of rising bodies with a single man with a flag at the pinnacle which sculptors always use in figures of victory or triumph. The flag was that of the Glasgow Bnei Zion, and it was waved with tremendous force whilst the Congress shouted, "*Hedod Zion, Herzl and Zion.*" Then from the back came the *Hatikvah*, and from another side, "*Dort wo die ceder.*"

VI.

Democracy is everywhere and always confronted with the accomplished fact. Blue books rehearse the past; they never invite discussion of the immediate present. Herzl blundered as a politician. The "Day in Vilna" had proved that he had more influence in Jewry than all his disconsolate opponents and a great number even of these were open to a reasonable explanation of his political chess game. But he expected them to understand everything from his two phrases, "it is not Zion"

and "we cannot give the signal for the exodus." That they could not appreciate this was largely because they had never grasped his thought of a mass migration. He had spoken often of it—but they never debated it and it was no part of their consciousness of the policy he was directing in their name and in their interest. The majority voted with him because they realized that the English offer was recognition of the Zionist movement as possessing a status entitling it to be considered in Herzl's phrase "worthy of negotiation."

They did not understand that the scene at the Vilna railroad depot had burned into his brain demanding action. Nor would they have wholly understood what he discussed with the author that, besides anticipating a victory over Turkey, he anticipated that the English offer would force the hands of such Jewish organizations as the Jewish Colonisation Association. He had forced a partial surrender from them on the El-Arisch plan; now he would force them to go further.

The author had been fourteen months in the United States, prior to the Sixth Congress and on his arrival in Europe he found a line of welcome awaiting him. He met the leader in Basle—they had adjoining rooms—and Herzl immediately pressed this point.

"Here is an alternative with which we must force the hands of the rich Jews. They object to Palestine, we pave the way for building a new Jewish autonomy in East Africa. The Jewish Colonization Association refused to go on with Argentina. The Jews don't understand these sick philanthropists who will do nothing. The Jewish Colonization Association has a surplus of wealth. They admitted the fact to me. They could have killed Zionism by a brave effort at settlement in Argentine. They have no more will than Leopoldgasse peddlers. Ten Jews are to them an organized effort; one hundred is a mass movement. Now we will put them to a test. Let us

accept, and let them reject East Africa. That will be our capital asset. *Eine Schach zug! eine schach zug de Haas.*"

One man might play diplomatic chess in an audacious manner but an emotional congress could not do this. Yet his main gambit—using his favorite chess simile—was yielding remarkable results during the congress and this explains the earnest hopefulness which rings through his closing speech.

The night on which the East African project was presented to the Congress by Greenberg, the author, who was acting as correspondent for American and other newspapers, prepared all his copy for cabling, only to find that at the late hour at which he appeared at the Post Office—all cable service in Switzerland was governmental—the building was closed. After some effort he found the "portier," who in exchange for a few cigars led him by a winding staircase to the cable room on the top floor of the building. The officials in charge were courteous. They would oblige a newspaper correspondent and his thousands of words, but he must expect a few hours' delay. A few more cigars elicited the explanation. The whole cable service had been, by official instruction, turned over to the sending of a long despatch in a strange tongue to Yildiz Kiosk. The copy of that despatch could not be obtained for love or money, but its address was exhibited as a curiosity in chirography. Yildiz Kiosk unquestionably! At three a. m. the author's messages started westward. But before retiring a notifying slip was pushed under Herzl's door. Later in the day we repeated the experience in detail to Herzl. He was satisfied. Yildiz would recognize Russian pressure, and Zionist insistence. The Congress ended and we sought our bed worn out. But before dawn Saturday morn-

ing, August 29, Herzl came to our bedside—rousing us from sleep with the observation: “You will sleep enough hereafter. When is Passover?” We arose, fumbled around, woke a colleague to borrow a Hebrew calendar. We found the date and reported. “Go quietly this morning to the Stadt Casino and see whether you can reserve the Congress building for that week. The return to Palestine must be proclaimed on the fitting date.” We demurred. The Passover involved many dietary restrictions and was moreover a family festival. The delegates could not come. “For the second exodus they will come. Make it a week earlier.” We carried out our mission and reported. Only the author escorted Herzl to the station. For the first time in these years of intimate association, he acted as to a continental. He embraced and kissed us. His final greeting was: “Prepare for a cable calling you to Vienna in March. You will organize the Congress of the Exodus. We meet at the great Passover.” His diary on the Congress is singularly brief. He simply records, saying to Nordau and Zangwill:

“I will now tell you my seventh Congress address—if I live to be present.

“I will by then either have obtained Palestine or have recognized the impossibility of all further effort.” In the latter case he would retire from the leadership and advise the creation of two bodies, one for East Africa, one for Palestine. “Although at first I was fundamentally only a Jewish Statist—later I embraced the Zion flag. I myself became a lover of Zion. Palestine is the only land where our people can come to rest. But immediate relief is needed for hundreds of thousands.”

CHAPTER XIX

A STORM OF OPPOSITION

Anti-Zionists as well as Zionists dismayed—Jewish Colonization Association declines to aid politically based colonization in East Africa—Charkow conference organizes opposition to leader—Zionists express confidence in Herzl—Trying to use Uganda interest for Palestine project.

DIASPORA spells chaos as well as exile. Although Herzl was an "autocrat" he did what had never before been done in Jewry. By the hurried presentation to the Congress of his East African project he flung on the table, an act for public consideration before the act was consummated. In founding the Zionist movement he had focussed the sympathies and interests of scattered elements the world over. The splendid use he made of this concentration of emotion is apparent. But Herzl had neither succeeded in training his followers to think politically, nor forced his Jewish opponents to act as a political group. Only flashes of his diplomatic finesse were publicly observable. He inspired confidence where he needed understanding. In his hands the Zionist organization was a political instrument, because with it as a background he could evolve that unknown quantity of international politics, a Jewish polity. He had impressed governments with the force he represented, but the political value of the organization was not clear either to his followers or his opponents. Neither Zionists nor anti-Zionists had yet emerged from the confusion of rhetoric and polemics which the "opening up"

of the general Zionist issue had evoked. The various projects Herzl had evolved between his last audience in Constantinople and the Sixth Congress, merited not only careful, precise, dispassionate and unemotional consideration, but they invited for earnest study a certain measure of aloofness, if not actual detachment. But despite their mental resourcefulness, Herzl's following were no more than any other group of men meeting in congress, prepared either in session or afterwards, to set aside their emotional reactions. John Stuart Mill's lament that "the general tendency of things is to render mediocrity the ascendant power among mankind" held too in this situation. At this critical juncture Herzl was too original and too dexterous for his heterogeneous following. In obtaining the British offer of East Africa and presenting it to the Jewish world for acceptance or rejection he performed a master stroke. Instead of conducting a hypothetical debate he forced Jewry to formulate a real policy on a concrete proposal. Except that as individuals and as communities they had decided against baptism or for martyrdom Jewry had never been presented with an opportunity to act politically of their own free will. Just what this novel proposal would have produced had it been presented by itself no one can now decide.

Nordau in his congress address was among the few who realized the significance of the issue Herzl had raised by "asking" for the Jews, but he could not undo the complications that had been created by the publication of the von Plehve letter of which, too, it may be said that had it not been obscured by the bitter quarrel that immediately followed the close of the sessions of the Congress, might have produced astounding results. Herzl

recognized that he had made some mistakes in the handling of the Sixth Congress, but he was too close to the scene of events and too confident of an approaching victory to appreciate the blunder involved in bringing both the British offer and the Russian document to the same congress.

The congress debates only started the discussion his "bombs" had provoked. The delegates were hopelessly divided. Those who voted "nay" were immediately labelled "Zionist-Zionists" and the supporters of Herzl, "Ugandists." Non-Zionists and anti-Zionists were equally divided and if anything much more bewildered by the Zionist leader's dramatic statecraft.

That Russia was determined to rid herself of the Jews had been obvious at least since the promulgation of the May Laws of 1882 by Ignatieff. As the Jews could not be drowned en masse in the Black Sea, they were concentrated in the Pale of Settlement on the Western Frontier. If they could not bear the pressure, they could emigrate. Herzl, who was a stark realist on the Jewish Question, accepted this Russian policy as a fact, unalterable and capable only of minor amelioration. He did not propose to argue with a natural phenomenon. But only a chosen group even of his fellow Zionists frankly looked at the facts in that clear light. Even in Russia the Jews had persisted in hiding the truth from themselves, and forced themselves to believe between massacres that the outrages were wholly instigated from above. In this new impasse the Russo-Jewish newspapers printed von Plehve's letter but carefully omitted to mention who wrote it, thus making it appear that it was more than rumor but less than an official governmental act.

The great Jewish ameliorative agencies had never

undertaken to face the Jewish problem as a whole. Their administrators had successfully argued themselves into the belief that amelioration must come from within. Discussing the policy of the Jewish Colonization Association a few weeks later, Mr. Claude G. Montefiore admitted that its attitude was one of doing "here a little, there a little." Almost on the same day, taking note in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* of an article by the English anti-Semite, Arnold White, on the Russo-Jewish problems, Jacob H. Schiff wrote: "The Jewish problem in Russia must be solved by and in Russia."

To have the foundations of this belief ruthlessly destroyed by a Russian ministerial declaration and at the same time to be confronted by an act of the British government, which, however sympathetic in purpose and gracious in phrasing, denoted that British statesmen agreed that Herzl was correct in his diagnosis of the nature of the Jewish Question was embittering. Faced with both horns of the dilemma, the anti-Zionists sought for the continuance of their policy of status quo and of philanthropic compromise.

The cleavage in the congress and the formation of the "Zionist-Zionists" group offered them at least a temporary abiding place. It was easy enough for the Viennese *Bloch's Wochenschrift* to ignore all these issues, and ask: "What does the opposition want, particularly what do the Russians want? Do they want to remain in their beloved home to be massacred by von Plehve's hordes until Dr. Herzl succeeds in winning Palestine from the Sultan? . . . Have they already forgotten 1880 in Odessa, Elizabetgrad, Kiev, and Pultawa?"

Austrian Jews were feeling the smart of anti-Semitism exactly as Herzl felt it but without his willingness to

grapple with the evil. But the London *Jewish Chronicle*, which after expressing its patriotic appreciation of England's act representing a fairly conscious and consistent anti-Zionism, could not help steering the middle course.

"The first impulse on the part of many must have been to ask impatiently whether the history of Israel was, after all, to end in an African swamp and to express the bitterness of spirit which all must feel at the suggestion that Jews are to be vomited forth from western lands and banished into barbarism." Face to face with a real issue the *Chronicle* supported the "Zionist-Zionists." "Moreover, we can understand the feeling of repugnance which Zionists like Dr. Gaster must feel at the apparent abandonment of the great dream of a Jewish State in the ancestral home of the race, for the sake of a settlement among half-savage tribes, remote from the haunts of civilization. Is this what is to become of the Zionist dream? they might ask. Is Zion to be exchanged for Kikuyu and the cedars of Lebanon for the Taru jungle? If to Africa the Jews must go, then the very name of the Zionist movement, they will say, is falsehood. . . . The future of Jewry does not lie in the tropics. Not thus is to end the grand drama of the Jewish race. It would be the grimmest anti-climax, the most savage piece of historical irony which the chequered story of this old world, with all its wreckage of human ideals, could show."

Herzl probably regarded this rhetoric as the "grimmiest anti-climax" in his experience: He had been hounded because he wanted Palestine and now he was being lambasted because he was apparently deserting Palestine. He was trying to force the great Jewish phil-

anthropic agencies to face the problem of Jewish existence and instead their spokesmen were beating the air. And the rhetoricians were speedily aided.

Objection even came from British East Africa itself. The London *Times*, too, did not favor the plan and that strangely from a purely Jewish viewpoint:

"A little Jewish State in East Africa, restrained within certain limits of action by the British Government, but in many respects self-controlled, would either succeed or fail in bringing within its borders a fair proportion of the ability by which the Jews have always and in all countries been distinguished. Failure in this respect should produce a set of conditions in which any ability born in the country would be compelled to seek a field for its activity elsewhere; and success would mean that men worthy to take part in the councils of Empires would be compelled to confine their attention to matters of a comparatively trivial character. Uganda would afford no sufficient opening for either great talent or great ambition; and the Jews who consented to remain there would have little or no opportunity for any display of the qualities which have brought their kindred to the front of affairs in so many ways and in so many places."

Even the London *Spectator* asked:

"What are Jews to do in Uganda that they should be bribed to go there? . . . The Jews can learn self-government in Palestine, if they have not learned it in the Ghettos, just as well as in Uganda; indeed, much better, for if we know anything of our countrymen in Uganda, they will not be independent, but will be expected to accept English laws and English control just like any other colonists. If the colony is fairly successful, it will divert attention from the other and greater project just at the moment when it is possible that, with the decline of Turkish power and wealth, the fate of Palestine may be within the power of collective Europe to decide."

Anti-Zionism was "smoked out." Palestine was to it rhetoric; but any self-governing community of Jews

anywhere was anathema. There was a repetition of the political undertow which was manifest at the convening of the first congress. Then the opposition to Zionism clutched metaphorically at the coat tails of the "Lovers of Zion." Such fervor was inexpensive. Now they wept at the shrine of Palestinean Zionism, "Content to wait . . . on the single vision which cannot be schemed for and by which the Ghettos survived till the days of the exile be ended."¹

II.

Herzl was intent on his own course of action but he took note of the reception accorded the Congress decisions both by the Zionist rank and file and by the anti-Zionists. He was without surcease pushing towards his goal. He met the Grand Duke of Baden and discussed with him the attitude Germany would take towards the Russian leadership in the Palestinean effort. The Grand Duke replied that Germany would willingly support the Russian effort. And to von Plehve, on September 5, he wrote at length from Alt Aussee where he was recuperating and where his wife was invalided for several months.

"The direction of the Congress was more laborious than ever, the excitement was extraordinary. Nevertheless, I succeeded in maintaining order and in restoring calm. It is true that without the letter which Your Excellency was kind enough to send me August 12, I would not have been able to achieve this result. But in publishing the letter, I took care to cut short all discussion.

"The most difficult moment was that in which I had to communicate to the Congress the offer of the British Government concerning a territory in Africa for our colonization. As I informed Your Excellency, I had solicited the help of the British government for obtaining Egyptian Palestine.

¹Laurie Magnus, in London *Times*.

"This request having been rejected by the Egyptian government, the British Government had the magnanimity to offer us a territory in South Africa. . . . When I received the British communication, I did not know what I have since learned, namely: That the territory is insufficient for our needs.

"In fact, Sir Harry Johnston, former governor and one of those who best knows the country in question, has just stated in the *Times* that only twenty percent of the territory offered could be used for our colonization and that other considerable difficulties force him to declare himself resolutely against the project, which in any case would only provide for the colonization of a few thousand families. But if I was ignorant of these facts at the time of the Congress, I knew the Zionist movement sufficiently well to be able to surmise beforehand in what manner the English proposal would be received. Gratitude was unanimous, the people were touched to tears—but South Africa is not Palestine.

"After a hard struggle, I was only able to put the preliminary question to a vote; that is to say, the sending of an exploring commission. The definitive vote is reserved for another Congress, to be held in a year or two. I had the greatest difficulty in bringing about even this modest result, as a very compact opposition was against even the mere politeness of taking the English proposal into consideration; and this opposition is composed almost exclusively of Russian Zionists. And at a private meeting of Russian Zionists I was already described as a traitor! . . .

"If there be those who favor colonization in Africa, they are to be found elsewhere than in Russia. The phenomenon is strange but unquestionable. I have had an opportunity to learn the views of a few revolutionary Russian Jews who live in foreign countries. They seem to me to be against Africa and in favor of Palestine. The explanation of this strange attitude—because these last were not Zionists—might be this:

"Emigration into Africa would attract only a few thousand proletarians and so would serve no political purpose. Whereas, if the Jewish people are established in Palestine the upper classes would hasten to take part in the movement, so as not to arrive too late in a new society into which the bourgeois, the conservative, and the lower classes would not fail to precipitate themselves.

"This Congress, therefore, brought to light the truth of what I had the honor to make known at St. Petersburg. Permanent emigration can only be directed towards Palestine.

"Great hopes are now bound up in the promise of the government, contained in Your Excellency's letter of August 12. To deceive these hopes would cloud the situation. . . .

"Your Excellency was kind enough to tell me in the course of our last interview that the letter of August 12 had been addressed to me with the consent and at the order of His Majesty, the Emperor. A personal and direct intervention by His Majesty, with His Majesty, the Sultan, would probably have a decisive effect, all the more so since we wish to offer financial advantages to the Ottoman Treasury. . . .

"If His Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, deigned to give me a letter recommending our Zionist project, I would take it to His Majesty, the Sultan, who has already received me in audience, in 1901.

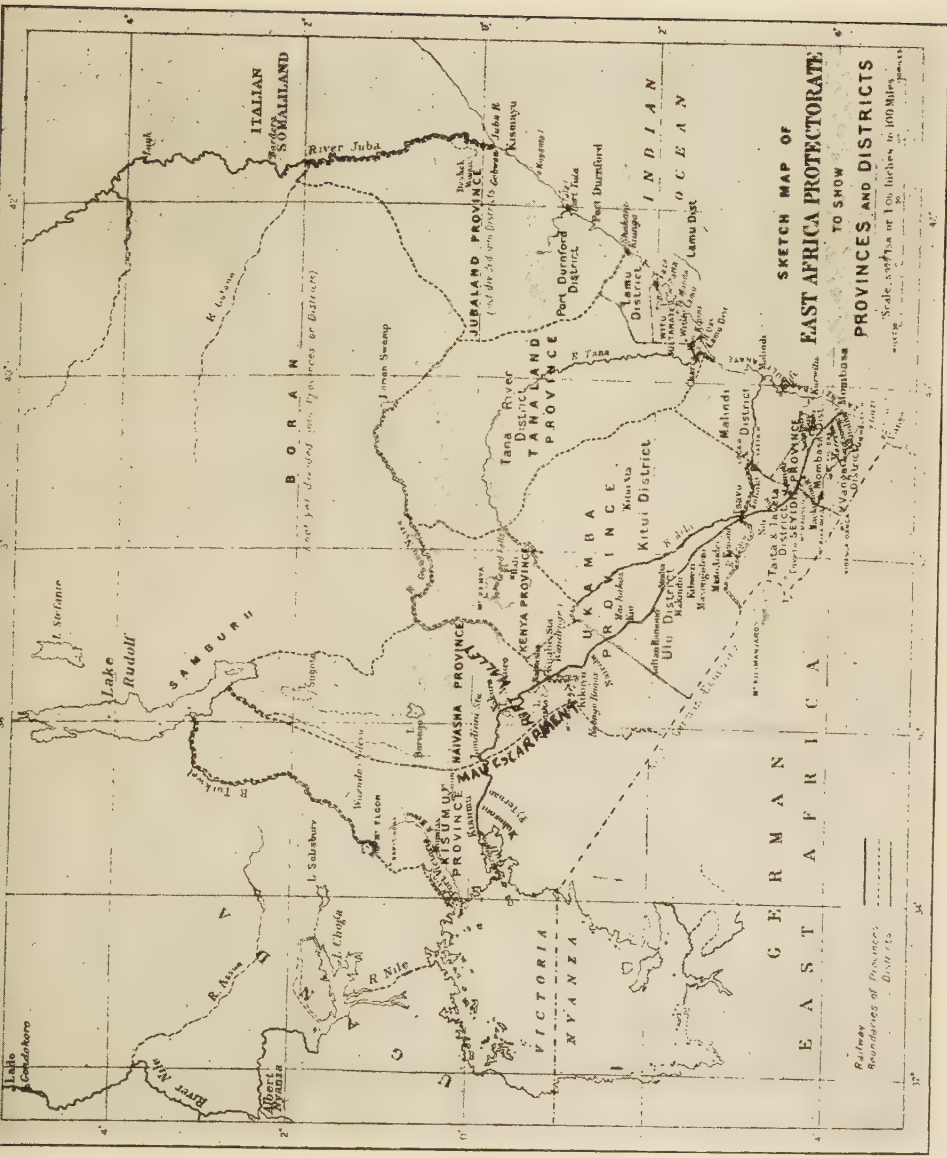
"If at the same time the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople should receive instruction to help me in the steps I am taking I would set out for Constantinople, with great hopes for the negotiations."

After discussing the attitude of France and Germany he continued:

"Finally, it is not temerity to affirm that the English cabinet, which has just given us so many unanimous proofs of its disposition towards our unhappy people, would also help us in our efforts in Palestine.

"It depends entirely therefore on the government of His Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, that all this be carried out promptly."

He continued to send a steady stream of letters from Alt Aussee to the Russian officials whom in addition to von Plehve he had met in St. Petersburg. One in which he used material prepared by Nordau and which was addressed to N. G. de Hartwich, Director of the Russian Foreign Office, contains an excellent picture of Russian



SKETCH MAP OF
EAST AFRICA PROTECTORATE
TO SHOW
PROVINCES AND DISTRICTS

Scale, 500 Yards or 100 fathoms to 100 Miles

conditions besides indicating the pressure Herzl was exercising in the interest of his Palestinian policy while the Jewish world was struggling with the pros and cons of the East African question:

"Your Excellency is undoubtedly acquainted with the situation which exists in the Russian Empire where Jews are permitted to reside. This situation has become embarrassing to the government of His Majesty, the Emperor.

"Confined within limits too narrow for their number, which increases slowly, but constantly, in spite of the birth-rate, which is inferior to the average in the Empire, hindered in their economic movements, subject to a mutually murderous competition, the Russian Jews stagnate in a misery so deep as hardly to admit of aggravation, the least lowering of the level to which they have already fallen meaning literally death from cold and hunger.

"The Jew is by nature ultra-conservative. By temperament no less than by the precepts of his religion, he is the most obedient observer of law that could be desired. But why wonder if, in his profound misery, in the absolutely impossible hopelessness of improving his lot, or of simply living, he becomes receptive to extreme ideas.

"And even if respect for the law could always deter the evil inspirations of despair, the spectacle of a population of six million souls whose number is every day increasing, having reached the very depths of human misery, can only mar the good name of a government which claims for itself principles of morality and of humanitarianism. . . . I am quoting from the letter of His Excellency, Mr. von Plehve.

"A remedy could be applied to this situation by abolishing the restrictions to the right of domicile of the Russian Jews. But I understand that the Imperial government does not believe itself able to employ this radical and immediately efficacious measure. There remains but one other means, one only: it is the methodical organization of Jewish emigration.

"But the only country in the world that irresistibly attracts almost all Russian Jews with the exception of a *very small* minority, is Palestine. All other countries have an attraction only for the lost children of Judaism.

"Alone, the Promised Land, the land of their fathers, calls them all, the faithful ones."

But a campaign had already begun in the Zionist ranks. The wonder to most observers was that having obtained the apparently unanimous support of the great Powers for his Palestinean scheme, Herzl should have embarked on the East African enterprise rather than wait until the break up of Turkey would put that support to a practical test. The nays began to organize in defense of the simon-pure Zionist principles. In this new struggle the leader was not shielded. On the contrary, it was his plan and he bore the brunt of the attack.

In an interview he gave for the East European press he endeavored to explain his personal attitude:

"I desire to settle in no country but Palestine, even if the East African proposal turns out a success. . . . I have directed by my will that whenever I am summoned from the scene of my labors here, my remains are to be buried in the land of our fathers. . . . When I visited Russia some weeks ago, I was already in possession of the British proposals. That, however, did not cause me to abate anything from our original programme in regard to Palestine, and now I shall try to extract something tangible from the promises of good-will that have been given. Never were our hopes brighter than at present for the attainment of our ultimate goal. To Africa I should not go; but it would have been clearly impossible to have waived aside the offer of the British Government with a mere word. Such a perfunctory refusal would be to put a slight upon a Power that seeks our welfare. We must feel deeply grateful to the British Government in that by its offer it had given recognition to our just claims to exist as a people under autonomous conditions. . . . The fact that a great Power has done this must rightly inspire us with renewed hope that our desires in regard to our Fatherland and our peculiar fitness as an "old-new" people, standing on the topmost rungs of the ladder of development, to bring life and industry and

order there again, may be recognized by the civilized world. . . .

"I find myself," continued Dr. Herzl after a moment's thoughtful silence, "I find myself somewhat in the position of the ass of the story that, standing between two bundles of fodder, was at a loss to know where to begin. Now if the ass had been possessed of common sense and a pair of hands, he would have grasped the one bundle and would have made a meal of the other. . . . Africa lies before us on the one hand; on the other there is the possibility of Palestine. Of the one bundle, Africa, it is proposed to eat, the other we shall hold and put by awhile. . . . You ask me whether I am still a Zionist. How can you doubt it, even for a moment? How can you lose confidence? If you are inclined to doubt that it is for our ancient soil I still yearn, that my one aim is Zion—have a little more patience and you will see that I have not deceived the Zionists. In your ranks I have fought and with you I shall conquer. . . . But how could I possibly reject the British proposals without giving them the utmost consideration. . . ."

To the query whether the African question did not threaten the party with division and the organization with disaster, Dr. Herzl replied:

"I have not thought about the cleavage that may result. I have devoted myself to the African proposal solely because it appeals to my inmost convictions, and had the majority been against me, including my dearest colleagues, it would not have made me swerve from my position. . . . But you see the majority supported me and I am not without hope that the vast mass of Jewry will confirm what the Congress has decided upon." . . . Ruben Brainin told Herzl that the Sixth Congress impressed him with the belief that Herzl had determined to stand, not merely at the head of the Zionist movement, but of Jewry as a whole, and that he wished the African proposition to be not a Zionist question merely but a Jewish question. At this the leader's eyes shot fire and then came the curt answer: "You will see that you are deeply mistaken. The next Congress will be strictly Zionist and only in the ranks of the Zionists shall we work for the African project, if it is to be

and the majority of Zionists are for us. . . . My striving for Zion will now be greater and more powerful, for now new forces and new conditions are thrusting themselves on our side. . . . ”

Within limits he was delighted with the opposition to East Africa and readily used its clamor. To the German Ambassador in Vienna he wrote more clearly of the Zionist attitude: “We hardened Jews cling to the sand and the hoe of Palestine.” He, however, urged Lord Rothschild to express his opinion on East Africa publicly. “I will not publish a word of yours that you do not send me expressly for that purpose.”

To his friend the Minister President of Austria, von Koerber, Herzl for the first time appealed for Austrian support in Constantinople. “Under the circumstances I venture to hope that I shall be supported by the government of my fatherland in an effort which while it concerns Jewish interests does not end there, but involves all humanity.”

III.

Patiently, throughout September and October, he began to weave his “combination” into shape. He informed the directorate of the Jewish Colonization Association that “on our way to Palestine which we uninterruptedly and energetically pursue we have an interim result . . . an autonomous colony in East Africa.” Would the Jewish Colonization Association participate in the expenses of sending the expedition?

Narcisse Leven answered on September 25, offering as the basis for further discussion:

“The Jewish Colonization Association regards it as its duty

to take part in the examination of the magnanimous offer of the British Government, but at this stage it reserves its opinion as to the possibility of successfully carrying out colonisation work in the district in question.

"We should only be able to give support to the enquiry if the project, of which this investigation is the preliminary, is nothing but a work of colonisation in the proper sense of the term and represents no political undertaking. It is essential that we should be succinctly and clearly advised on this point. . . ."

When Herzl returned to Vienna in October he answered: "I regret that your reply . . . can only be regarded by me as the rejection of my proposal. . . .

"By your condition you make your support dependent on the matter bearing no political character. It has been known for years that our movement has a political character; you, therefore, impose an impossible condition."

When he penned these lines Herzl knew that to all intents and purposes the East African scheme was either dead or he must undertake a campaign in order to force the gentlemen who guided Jewish philanthropy to accept it. And he penned a quizzical "in memoriam" to his letter when a few weeks later, owing to Dr. Gaster's having accused him of having gone to the Jewish Colonization Association "cap in hand," this correspondence was published. The clamor of debate was such that even this declaration of policy by the principal colonising organization that it would not associate itself in the plan even though the "local self-government" phase of the offer was nebulous, was ignored. But while this new material was being added to the public debate von Plehve had written Herzl asking for information as to the conduct of the Russian delegates at the Congress. Evidently some spy had reported that their gestures—not

their words—were uncomplimentary to the Russian government. Herzl gave a categorical answer:

“To my knowledge—and I say it on my honor—none of the Russian delegates to the Congress failed in his moral or civic duties as a Russian citizen.

“If such a fact had been called to my attention, I would not have hesitated immediately to provoke a public and general protest of our adherents as nothing would be more contrary to the interests of our movement, especially since the promise given by the Russian government which I was so happy to be able to publish at Basle. . . .

“Your Excellency would not wish to hold me nor our movement responsible for the flights of speech that arise in a center so international as Switzerland.”

But after all, he continued, that was not material to the real issue.

“The Zionists will not allow themselves to be turned back on their way, as long as there remains to them the hope of attaining the end proposed. . . .

“Everybody awaits with great anxiety the result of your promise. . . . The Sublime Porte is accustomed to receive recommendations which in no wise change its policy. It is only upon an imperative order of His Imperial Majesty, the Sultan, at the invitation of His Majesty, the Czar of Russia, that the Ottoman Government would take serious notice.”

Lord Delmare had cabled to the English press from Nairobi, Uganda, “Feeling here very strong against introduction alien Jews,” and as the winter approached more opposition was reported from the Protectorate. The few white settlers objected to “the best portion of the protectorate being handed over to foreigners.” Some British Africans were favorable to the proposed settlement, but these were not in a majority. But while Zangwill was conducting an agitation in favor of East Africa

and von Plehve was informing him that the Russian Ambassador in Constantinople had been instructed to intervene in the Zionist interest, the Russian members of the Actions Comite headed by Ussischkin, who had returned from Palestine, and his brother-in-law, Dr. Jacobson, were organizing with a view of presenting an "ultimatum" to Herzl.

IV

Opinion in Russia, according to outsiders, was generally favorable to the East African plan. One outsider wrote: "Never before did the Basle Congress excite so much interest in Russia. On the whole, opinion is decidedly in favor of the project. The justification which the minority [at the Congress] have given for their vote, that their constituents sent them to the Congress for Zion not for Uganda, is universally rejected as a poor excuse. . . . It must sorrowfully be admitted that Zionism in Russia has not been fortunate in many of its leading mouthpieces; indeed, it would be unfair were we to judge the movement in this empire by some of its representatives at the Basle Congress." The Mizrachi in Russia were the first to accept the taunt that they were "Zionists without Zion." And they answered: "The creation of a Jewish State promises to be more speedily realized in Uganda than in Zion; that is why we voted for it."

Mandelstamm, Jasinowsky, and others in Russia besides the Mizrachi were supporting Herzl, who permitted a letter of his to be published in *Hazefirah* appealing for unity.

"That Zionism has in so short a time achieved such decided

political successes is solely due to the absolute accord that has dominated our movement. Therefore I beg of our friends the ayes and the nays to reunite faithfully and firmly as before. To a great extent the want of harmony is due to the fact that many like to consider themselves dogmatic Zionists, and stamp as heresy any new tendency that may show itself in Zionism. . . . We are not at present deciding the question, we are only trying to solve it. This will take considerable time. . . .”

The Russian organization was, however, dominated by the opponents of Herzl. In the confusion of the final session of the Congress when no one gave heed to the local consequences nine of the “nay” voters had been elected on the Greater Actions Comite. Ussischkin, it will be recalled, came to the First Congress as an opponent. He and his colleagues, quite apart from principles in which they devoutly believed, had always rebelled against a leader who had little personal sympathy for them and over-awed them and to whom, owing to the force of public opinion, they were always compelled to yield. Now that there was a real issue they were ready to struggle for control of the Zionist forces. Ussischkin began the fight with an open letter to all the members of the Greater Actions Comite.

He declared that the decision of the Congress was not binding on him. Herzl immediately held fast by that issue and shrewdly made it the controlling factor in his dealings with the opposition. He answered at length in *Die Welt*.

“The Congress expects that the members of the Actions Comite will observe party discipline, and if Mr. Ussischkin feels himself unable to accept, like everyone else, the decision of the majority, his duty is clearly to resign. Mr. Ussischkin has always been able to expound his views without hindrance and has always done so with great vehemence, whether the

matter under consideration was the formation of a branch bank in Russia or anything else."

Herzl expressed no surprise at Ussischkin's "violence," and if there were no public confusion as to the issue he would have ignored Ussischkin. But,

"There are many who have either never been seen at our councils, or for some reason have sulkily withdrawn because their vanity or their ambition has not been satisfied—many, I say, imagined that the moment had arrived when they could step into other people's shoes because my friends and I proposed to the Congress the sending of an expedition for the purpose of investigating the splendid offer of the British Government. They were in error. Their time has not yet come. Political Zionism to the number of whose founders, promoters, and defenders it is my proud boast to belong, this Zionism remains intact, unaltered, and unalterable."

Having thus sharply indicated Ussischkin's ambition to leadership, Herzl proceeded to deride the whole Ussischkin policy.

"If Ussischkin were to buy up all the land in his native Ekaterinoslav, the district politically would not be his . . . one of two things: Either Mr. Ussischkin knows a shorter and a better way of giving the Jews the publicly and legally assured possession of Palestine—in which case it is not proper for so good a Zionist to withhold it; or he knows none. If the latter is the case, he should not aimlessly seek to disturb the unity of Zionism, which is worth more than a few plots of land in Palestine."

He mocked Ussischkin's public efforts to purchase land in Palestine. "Some people regard the purchase of land as practical work, because buying and selling are habits of practical life." But Ussischkin's publication of the proposed purchases "had only encouraged the land

speculators and the Geulah (Redemption) will have to pay dearly for it" unless the business were done by someone who could "discharge a commission quietly."

The agitation, perhaps because it threatened a split in the ranks, led immediately to a great increase in the number of enrolled Zionists in Europe. The refusal of the Czar to accept the innocuous petition of the American B'nai B'rith on the Kishineff Massacre, the outrages in Gomel, all tended to maintain the interest in the debate. "All the dark records of the middle ages had been surpassed by what has transpired in Russia," said one prominent English Jew in pleading for careful consideration of the East African project independent of its Zionist origin. But the issue was mainly being fought out in Zionist circles and the old Lovers of Zion were as a consequence reviving in several countries as a new and better solution.

Gaster, who from London had joined the opposition immediately at the close of the Congress, lent all his strength to the English Zionist-Zionists. Even Greenberg, who was in charge of the negotiations in London and who had more experience than Herzl of the hurly-burly of political campaigns, was intimidated by the attacks in London and in Russia. Chamberlain was no longer a member of the cabinet and though this fact would not affect British policy, Greenberg began looking for some plan by which the Zionists might be released from their obligation to the British government. But Herzl would have none of this. He was still pounding at Russia. Von Plehve had sent for Katzenelsohn and something of a new phase had been put on the Jewish position in Russia by the East African offer. The semi-official *Warszawski Dziennik* commenting on it ob-

served: "If the African scheme is realized we shall lose a host of Russian subjects whose work contributes largely to the vitality of the empire. . . . Why should we make Great Britain this present!" This, perhaps the first tribute of its kind ever paid to the Jews in Russo-Poland, was translated by the news despatches into a statement that the Russian Government meditated offering the Zionists an autonomous Jewish State under a Russian protectorate in Manchuria. There was no truth in the story but even its fabrication showed that the Jews were being thought of from a new angle.

In England Sir Harry Johnson, who knew East Africa, strongly opposed the settlement of Jews there on British imperialistic grounds, while Dr. Gaster, who was locally fighting Greenberg and Cowen and Zangwill, adopted a wholly religious and colonisation attitude toward Zionism. If a conjunction could be formed between Ussischkin and Gaster, who the day after the Congress closed, had written, "If those who have approved . . . the acceptance of the East African proposal are earnest . . . then their activity in connection with the programme of the Zionist movement comes to an end," the Herzl leadership was in danger. But that union was impossible; Ussischkin and his associates had no confidence in west European Zionists.

IV.

Nine Russian leaders, M. V. Temkin (President), J. M. Kohann-Bernstein, H. Bruck, A. Belkovsky, Boris Goldberg, M. Rosenbaum, M. M. Ussischkin, J. W. Jacobson and Scheinkin (Secretary) had in October, met in Charkow and after conferring four days, drafted an ultimatum to Herzl. Their secret declaration read:

"Basing itself on the report of a member, Prof. Belkovsky, who had specially gone to Vienna for the purpose, and on information supplied by other members, the district-presidents consider they are entitled to regard the East Africa project as opposed to the Basle programme, and the activity of Dr. Herzl as President of the Actions Comite as overstepping the principle of solidarity, without which his colleagues cannot take the responsibility for the development of the Zionist Movement. They, therefore, think themselves justified in actively combating the East Africa scheme and Dr. Herzl's "auto-cratic" action.

"It was decided to send a deputation of three members to Dr. Herzl, for the purpose of presenting a final ultimatum on behalf of the district-presidents, no public agitation, however, to be carried on until the return of the deputation. As regards the East Africa scheme, Dr. Herzl was to bind himself in writing that, as leader of the Zionist movement, he would never, at the Congresses or outside them, take up any territorial project unconnected with Palestine and Syria; that he would destroy completely the scheme not later than the Seventh Congress, and not submit it to any other Congress; that a meeting of the Greater Actions Comite be convened before the expedition of exploration be sent, and that this be not done until the alteration of the laws of the Jewish Colonial Trust, proposed at the Third Congress, be adopted. These were the highlights of the program.

"Dr. Herzl was also to give a written promise that, in accordance with the Basle programme and the decisions of the Second Congress, practical colonization be taken up as the immediate and most important part of the activity of the movement. It should take the form of purchase of land in Palestine and Syria by means of the National Fund, the Society Geulah, the Colonization Societies and the Anglo-Palestine Co., Ltd., to establish colonies on this land for Jews living in Palestine and other parts of Turkey, particularly for laborers, with the assistance of the Odessa and other colonization associations.

"The mode of treating with Dr. Herzl, whether it concern the limit of time of the ultimatum or the measures to be taken should Dr. Herzl decline to accept its terms, is left to the deputation. In the latter contingency, the deputation has to convene another conference of the district-presidents to be held in

Vienna, Minsk, or St. Petersburg, in order to decide as to future action.

"Among the measures contemplated were: the refusal to send further moneys to Vienna; the public opposition of all presidents; the issue of special pamphlets and circulars; the personal agitation by the members of the deputation and the employment of other agitators in all the centres of the movement in Europe and America for the purpose of organizing an opposition to the leadership of Dr. Herzl; the union of the opposition forces in all countries; the convention of Western opponents of the East Africa scheme prior to the Seventh Congress; the development of an independent Zionist Organization without Dr. Herzl; the endeavor to obtain from the British Government the public and judicial recognition of such Zionist Organization—not only of the majority favouring the East Africa Scheme—for the purpose of managing the Jewish Colonial Trust and the National Fund.

"The Conference also dealt with the question of a new Russian Zionist organization, and it was decided to establish a permanent committee of four. Those elected were M. M. Ussischkin, Kohann-Bernstein, Jacobson, and Temkin. This committee will possess the special right officially to represent district-presidents in dealing with Vienna, London, etc., while these would only have to address themselves to the committee. The financial centre of the movement in Russia, which has hitherto been under the administration of Prof. Dr. Mandelstamm of Kiev, is to be transferred to another person and place, probably Vilna. The decisions arrived at by the Conference and the mission of the deputation were to be kept secret and not communicated to the authorities in Vienna. As to financial arrangements, it was agreed to leave to the Actions Comite in Vienna to apply for funds after the interview with Dr. Herzl. If the new Russian Committee considers it advisable to forward money to Vienna, it will so instruct the financial administration, but if the Committee should be in doubt whether the application is justified, the district-presidents will be specially consulted. Five thousand roubles were voted towards the expenditure of the new Russian Central Committee."

These nine men had practically committed themselves

to a revolution in Zionism. They were all old "Lovers of Zion" and they apparently saw an opportunity to dethrone Herzl and swing the movement back to the policy they had supported prior to the publication of the *Jewish State*. It was a bold thought but not well warranted by circumstance. Between 1897 and 1903 the Zionist movement in Russia had developed ten or twenty fold in numbers and in financial strength. The response, however Herzl's ideas were interpreted by the masses, was to the new not to the old movement. Moreover it was obvious that the government was supporting Herzl's interpretation of Zionism therefore the Kultur program was wholly ignored in this definition of a practical policy. The opposition indeed attempted to lay their views before von Plehve but were not successful. The possibility of a successful revolution therefore depended upon secrecy, and in Russia a campaign by whispering was possible. The revolutionists however reckoned without Herzl and his bold methods.

Herzl came into possession of one version of these secret decisions and without hesitation published it in *Die Welt*. The response was remarkable. A counter movement was initiated voluntarily in every country. "Charkow" became a synonym in Zionism for usurpation. Feeling was intense and bitter. There was nothing in the Zionist constitution warranting these nine Russian district leaders, who were also members of the Greater Actions Comite, assuming any authority. The attempt to influence opinion by sending out "agitators" was even physically resisted. The merits of the rancorous debate in England between Greenberg and Zangwill against Gaster were lost to view. What concerned the Zionists most was that a deliberate attempt was being made to

usurp authority, divide the organization, and oust Herzl from the leadership. The Zionists everywhere rallied to Herzl and nowhere more than in Russia. The messages of protest against the nine "rebels," "traitors," "usurpers" and the expressions of confidence began to flow in such streams that *Die Welt* could not publish the texts. It had to content itself with recording the names of the organizations and it published also the list of those supporting the Charkow move. The Charkow group were snowed under, twenty, thirty, or even forty to one. But the combat had only started when the intensity of the strife provoked one crazy fool to attempt the assassination of Max Nordau in Paris. Nordau was attending a Zionist ball on December 19 when Chaim Selig Louban, a student, fired at the Zionist leader. Louban claimed to be an anti-Uganda Zionist who sought to create a sensation. Nordau refused to prosecute his assailant. Even many of Herzl's closest associates, like Nordau, urged him not to press the issue, particularly after they knew how slender were the possibilities of realizing the East African project with non-Zionist support. But Herzl was immovable. He was determined to crush the Russian opposition, and to retreat after the attack on Nordau would look like cowardice.

In order to define his position on the East African question Herzl wrote on December 14 a letter to Sir Francis Montefiore, then President of the English Zionist Federation. This letter, which was accepted everywhere as a final declaration of Herzl's policy declared:

"You have expressed to me in your letter to hand a desire that I should give you some information in respect to the East African project.

"Let me, however, first of all, make my position clear. Ever since the last Congress the wildest statements have been freely indulged in, attaching to me a desire to divert our movement away from the Holy Land, and to direct it to East Africa. Nothing could be further from the truth. As I said at the last Congress, I am a Zionist, convinced that the settlement of our people's question can only be effected in that country, Palestine, with which are indelibly associated the historic and sentimental basis of its national existence. No place on earth could therefore, in my mind, supplant or take the place which Palestine holds as the object for which we are striving.

"But the British Government having, in terms of singular generosity and consideration, proposed to us the offer of an autonomous settlement, it was surely not possible in reason to do otherwise than extend to such offer our most careful thought.

"To my mind four elements were necessary for our bringing the suggestion of the British Government within the range of practical politics:

"(1) The territory had to be sufficiently extensive to admit of an immigration of such a character as should be eventually a material relief to the pressure which today exists in Eastern Jewry.

"(2) It follows that the territory had to be one which was colonizable by such a people as ours.

"(3) The concession had to be vested with such autonomous rights as should have ensured the Jewish character of the settlement.

"(4) Perhaps governing all—the enthusiasm of our own people in respect to the offer had to be of such a nature as would overcome all the obvious difficulties which under most favorable conditions would be bound to arise in the creation of the settlement.

"It must be quite clear, as you point out, that the fourth condition has been, to some extent, absent. Of this I am neither surprised nor do I complain. My connection with our great movement has not left me unconscious of the deep and abiding love which animates our people for Palestine. While it was my duty to submit to our organization the British suggestion of a refuge—while, in view of Kishineff, I surely should not have been justified in excluding from our people all chance of accepting the suggestion—it is with no small satisfaction that I note that the strongest opposition



HERZL AT FORTY.

to the scheme, the strongest note urging me to keep our minds steadily fixed upon Palestine comes exactly from those very people whose eyes have seen the horrors of Jewish massacre, and in whose ears there must constantly sound the dread tones of always possible impending disaster.

"Whatever may come of the East African proposals, no Jew will ever be unmindful of the splendid service to our cause at the dictates of humanity of the British Government. Great Britain has long been a pattern to the world in her treatment of her Jewish subjects throughout her vast Empire. The letter which Sir Clement Hill addressed to Mr. Greenberg to be communicated to the last Congress was additional evidence of the spirit of toleration and freedom which animates the bulk and body of the British people. That the letter at the same time recognized the Zionist movement as the organized representative of Jewry was a satisfaction for us of which every Zionist may well be proud. To have gained such recognition after only seven years' work in the teeth of such opposition as that against which we have had to contend may give us good cheer in the work we have begun so well and may well inspire us with added confidence that, providing our energies do not slacken in the labor we have undertaken, we shall see our best hopes realized in their ultimate success."

Calm consideration would have shown that by this letter Herzl had gently opened the door to a withdrawal from the East African plan and the anti-Zionists so understood it. He was in hopes that the British Government would in the face of the opposition in Nairobi itself offer an exchange—something nearer to Palestine. The efforts he was making in Russia were not in vain, though the conditions in Turkey, owing to the Macedonian insurrection, were exceptionally unfavorable for action. But on the other hand, his broad policy was winning. Germany was willing to support the Russian effort, and from Rome Herzl was informed the Italian government was sympathetic. The chess game was being slowly but effectively played for him. On the same day

that he wrote his public definition of his East African policy to Sir Francis Montefiore, he wrote two other letters which completely revealed his policy.

VI.

Von Plehve had informed him that: "We have come to an agreement, Count Lamsdorff and myself, to make known to the Sublime Porte through the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, the sympathetic reception which the Imperial Government gave to the Zionist proposal of reinstating their coreligionists in Palestine."

This message was conveyed to Constantinople but Herzl did not regard it as strong enough. Moreover, he wanted Russia to report her act publicly. To von Plehve he therefore wrote of the Ambassador's intervention, "Well meaning though this be it runs the risk of taking its place among the archives of the Sublime Porte." He wanted the Czar to adopt a firmer and more personal tone towards the Sultan.

At the same time, for the eyes of the Sultan and the Grand Vizier, he wrote to Constantinople:

"Permit me to ask some news about my very respectful proposition addressed February 16, 1903, to Your August Master and to His Highness the Grand Vizier.

"I was under the impression exterior political considerations, notably on the side of Russia, had prevented the Imperial government from taking up the question. Accordingly with the help of my friends in all countries, I made an effort to do away with these difficulties. It has been done. These difficulties no longer exist as you shall soon officially be notified, if you have not already been.

"I now, therefore, reiterate my proposition which contains, outside of the creation of a new financial resource for the Imperial Treasury—which could form the foundation for a loan—still other advantages, in a word the economic re-organi-

zation of your beautiful country which I loved so much. A territory we can find elsewhere. We have found it. . . . Nevertheless, I return once more to my plan of finding salvation for the Jewish people amongst our racial brothers. . . .”

In another letter he explained more clearly that he was willing to negotiate with Turkey for the Sandjak of Acca and its hinterland on a basis that would provide the Turkish government with \$500,000 a year and the possibility of capitalizing this annual payment in the form of a loan.

Von Plehve was actively interested and sent for Dr. Katzenelsohn as Herzl's Russian representative, to discuss various phases of the situation. This called forth from Herzl another letter to von Plehve in which he said:

“Mr. Katzenelsohn writes me that Your Excellency is surprised that I have not already left for Constantinople. I cannot go there until invited by the Sultan, as I have gone there three times at his invitation. I would have the appearance of wanting to impose myself and that would spoil things from the start. No, I must wait, and I wait with great hope.”

And then he turned to a matter which was exercising the Jews everywhere.

“May I be permitted to call the attention of Your Excellency to a piece of news evidently counterfeit, but which is now making the rounds of the European press. The news is being circulated that there will be new massacres at Kishineff on the occasion of the Russian feast of Christmas. To me this is an abominable invention; but I believe I ought to advise you of it, since I am now so well aware of your humanitarian views.”

Although physically strained and far from well, Herzl resisted every suggestion that he should take advantage of the political situation in England and drop

the East African plan or that he should in some way meet the Russian malcontents on their own terms. He stood firm as a rock. There was no such group legally as the Russian Actions Comite and the only terms on which he would meet the rebels was as individuals. A delegation consisting of Prof. Belkovsky and M. Rosenbaum, came to Vienna. To Dr. Pasmanik, Herzl wrote, on January 4, describing their visit:

"I did not receive the Charkower gentlemen as delegates. I informed them when they announced themselves, that a Russian Actions Comite does not exist and that I would not recognize a delegation from a non-existing organization. I know only the Russian members of the Greater Actions Comite. I then allowed them to come to me individually and only after it was placed on record that they did not come to me as a deputation nor had any ultimatum to present that I permitted them as guests and members of the Greater Actions Comite to participate in the sessions of the Actions Comite. I think that by that course I have dealt in accordance with the wishes of all Congress loyal Zionists.

On their return to Russia the delegation reported publicly.

"The mission led to no result. The President of the Actions Comite did not even think it necessary to consider the demands. Yet, although the district presidents differ in certain cardinal points with Dr. Herzl, and, thanks to the agitation initiated against them in *Die Welt*, some delegates are demanding their resignation; they consider it their duty to look also further after the interests of the movement. They hope, nevertheless, that the decisions arrived at the Charkow Conference will, sooner or later, be ratified by Zionists in all parts of the world."

But the Charkow group hoped to force the issue by withholding funds from Vienna. This incensed the Zionists everywhere. "Congress Defense" committees were

organized and the Charkow group branded as "disloyal," "disorganizers," "traitors." Even the intimation published in Russia that England was withdrawing its offer, which the British foreign office promptly denied, did not change the situation. The nine men were in control, though in Odessa thirty-six Zionist associations emphatically repudiated the Charkow decision and in Ekaterinoslav, Ussischkin's own constituency and native city, Rabbi Rabinowitz of Sopotzkin "echoed the voice of one hundred and fifteen Zionist societies" against the chief malcontent. Charkow was an undermining of the structure of the organization and the protest did not cease. Even the colonists in Palestine were roused and joined their voices against the nine and all they represented. The idea that the old petty colonisation policy was to be restored excited derision. The nine, thus it was clearly forecast, would be defeated and removed from office at the next congress. Herzl had judged rightly; he was the leader; he understood the masses and their needs and his firmness achieved a unique personal victory.

CHAPTER XX.

LAST DAYS

Declines personal financial aid—Received by Cardinal Merry del Val—Pope Pius X and king of Italy—Conference restores unity in organization—Received by Austrian Foreign Minister who promised to obtain joint action of the powers—Breakdown—Final letters and efforts for cause—Last days.

HERZL was far from well when the year 1904 was ushered in. He was worrying not about himself but about the recurrence of massacres. Several of his colleagues not only urged a rest but proposed to relieve him of his journalistic strain and enable him to take a long rest by offering privately to raise a fund that would leave him free of all financial embarrassments for the rest of his life. Zangwill wrote him to that effect, pledging secrecy. Herzl answered, "You say no one would know. One person would know. I would know." To Cowen, who made the suggestion in another form, he wrote:

"Of course it would be well if I directed affairs with London as the center. That would only be possible if I earned my livelihood there. That I will accept support from the movement in any form is ridiculous. First I lack the necessary character. Second, if I had that character God should mercifully protect and guard me from it."

Wolffsohn also attempted to convince Herzl that this would be a wise policy, and Herzl wrote him chidingly:

"You are a good fellow—but what are you thinking of me? You offer me an annuity so that I can live in London and thus make it possible to guide the movement there.

"Well! What about my self-respect? Do you believe I could suffer such a shameful situation? For what would I accept money from you? Because I act according to my convictions? What do you get by it? Do I serve your affair, your enterprise, your material interest?

"No, my good Daade, banish all such thoughts. It is certainly not disgraceful to enter service in a material and honest trade for salary. But in an ideal affair it is indecent. As I see things, it even seems strange. I am in the service of the *Neue Freie Presse* unfortunately! But I do not think myself degraded thereby. I might direct a non-journalistic enterprise for compensation, if I could say to myself, 'You understand this business and honestly deserve this salary; you bring more profit to this business than is paid you.' . . . But your proposition is impracticable, because it is unworthy of my character, even if by making it you show me all your old friendship.

"The many contradictory communications from our friends make me hot-headed.

The news from Constantinople was not good. Wellich, his agent there, had reported that he had seen the Russian Ambassador, who told him, "I have a letter about the matter from St. Petersburg, but up to the present I have not done anything, and it will not be easy to do anything." So Herzl again wrote von Plehve:

"Under these circumstances, and in spite of my good will, I can therefore do nothing for emigration and the condition of the Jews will remain as sad and as pitiful as it has been up to the present. The reply of His Excellency Mr. Sinovyev, the Russian Ambassador, proves exactly how correct were the considerations which I submitted to Your Excellency. An ordinary step presents so little chance of success at the Sublime Porte that the Ambassador did not even want to undertake it."

He was discouraged by ill health but, as he wrote Wolffsohn, determined to effect a new step, he left

Vienna on January 19 and proceeded to Florence, intending first to recuperate there and then proceed to Rome. He was in possession of a confidential note from von Plehve to the effect that Russia would make a more serious effort in Constantinople if England would take the initiative. The Chief Rabbi of Florence, Dr. Margulies, had months before written him that the King of Italy was sympathetic to the movement and wished to meet him. He spent an evening with Dr. Felice Ravenna, the leader of the Italian Zionists. He needed the support of all the Great Powers to achieve victory. Of Germany, England, and Russia he was sure. He needed France, Italy, and Austria. He began his new campaign with Italy; that was the object of his trip.

"Warm hearts. . . . The emotion reminded me a little of Vilna," he wrote of his stay in Florence.

But in Venice on a "very blue Monday" where he was resting, Herzl chanced to meet in a restaurant the artist and Papal Count Lippay, a baptized Jew according to some accounts, and unofficial agent of the Vatican, who there and then offered to present him to the Pope. Herzl accepted the offer, but declined all Lippay's insinuating suggestions. "I will not go to the Vatican as a proselyte, but as the political representative of my own people." Lippay tried to turn to account Herzl's philosophic-artistic appreciation of the passive Jew, Jesus. When this failed, Lippay advised Herzl to ask the Pope to accept the protectorate over Palestine. "Certainly not. I will ask for nothing that can create difficulties for him. I seek only the possible, an encyclical that he does not oppose Zionism if the Holy Places are extritorialized." Herzl proceeded to Rome and Lippay introduced him at the Vatican (January 22).

"All the Swiss guards and lackeys knew Lippay. Like a great man he strode up the steps and passed through the loggia of the College Raphael. He reported me to the Secretary of State, Merry del Val, and led me into the ante-chamber of the Pope, where he left me alone, saying as he disappeared, 'I go now to the Pope.' . . .

"And the crucified one, bowed, pained, a picture of human suffering, on his bronze on the marble walls, looked on at this courtly environment, developed and continued here in his name, for hundreds of years. If he could have foreseen all this as on the cross he cried *Eli Eli*, would it have made his dying more or less painful?

" . . . When the waiting came to an end, I was led to another chamber, the Salon of the Holy College. A green covered table, surrounded by red and gold armchairs. At the end again, the tormented God on the cross. Several ambassadors were with the Secretary of State; I was the last. Lippay led me in, kissed the hand of Cardinal Merry del Val, and introduced me. He kissed the Cardinal's hand a second and a third time and disappeared.

"I looked at him closely, thirty-eight years of age, large, slim, aristocratic. Fine, large, brown, earnest, questioning, not unreligious eyes, youthful though earnest face. . . . I told him what I sought: the good will of the Holy Chair for our cause.

"He said: 'I do not see rightly how we can take the initiative. As long as the Jews deny the divinity of Christ, we cannot ourselves be for you. Not that we wish you evil. To the contrary. The church has ever protected you. For us you are the necessary witnesses of the past, when God was on earth. But you deny the Divinity of Christ. How shall we, without destroying our highest principles declare ourselves as agreeing that you should again be placed in possession of the Holy Land.' "

Herzl answered:

"We desire only the profane earth; the Holy Places should be exterritorialized."

"It is impossible to think in such disparate terms."

"Is then the present condition so satisfying to Christendom, Your Eminence? Do you not believe that the religious senti-

ments of all Christian faiths would be better expressed if new conditions were created?"

"The College of Cardinals has not yet dealt with the question."

Herzl pressed his view, "the long range view of the Church." But the Cardinal thought in entirely different terms.

"Certainly to me the Jew who is baptised from conviction is the ideal. In such a Jew who acknowledges the Divinity of Christ I find the physical descendant of Christ's people united with the spirit; so St. Peter and St. Paul. The history of Israel is our own. It is our foundation. But before, as you request, we declare ourselves for the Jewish people, it must first be converted."

Herzl answered quizzically:

"Eminence think of the story of the traveler and his cloak. The wind could not take it away from him. The sun smiled it off his back."

Herzl's account of his interview with the Cardinal has an excellent counterpart in an interview given by the Cardinal to one of Herzl's colleagues, York Steiner, a few months later and reported in *Die Welt*, April, 1904.

"Dr. Herzl . . . made the best impression on His Holiness; what he had to tell us was very interesting and apparently of the greatest benefit to his nation. But what can we do in the matter? It would mean putting ourselves in opposition to our own principles, to the basis of our Church, if we should interfere in the manner in which Dr. Herzl probably expected His Holiness to do. How, for instance, can we ourselves give away to a people of another faith the land of our Savior, or hand over the most Holy Places?"

York Steiner discussed these problems, and pointed out that Palestine was in Moslem hands. There was a

Christian legend—the Cardinal did not admire that legend—that the Jews would return. Why should Rome hinder the movement? Whereupon the Cardinal took another position.

“If the Jews believe that they can better their condition in the land of their fathers, then it is for us a question of humanity. . . . We have great respect for true Judaism, and never forget that we should be nothing without it, that it is the basis of our religion.”

To the Cardinal, who did not conceal that he objected to Jews pushing themselves forward in Vienna and elsewhere, the Zionist plan seemed very strange.

“The desire of the Jews for the old home is one of the most remarkable things. It appears as if it were chiselled into their hearts. The Jews are a people of Providence, the people of history par excellence. What they have once passed through, that they do not seem to be able to forget. Thus I was told—which interests me, as a Spaniard, very much—that in the Orient there appear Jewish newspapers with Hebrew letters in the Spanish language. The people who emigrated from Spain centuries ago have preserved our language. Is that not remarkable?”

Three days later Herzl was received by Pope Pius X. Lippay had urged him to kiss the Pope's hand but Herzl passing through endless small saloons, lined with “Swiss lackeys who looked like priests, and priests who looked like lackeys, papal officers and attendants” decided that he could not make the desired obeisance. His terse notes of this interesting session are profoundly self revealing. Not Theodor Herzl a sick man seeking a rest and winning this audience by sheer chance stood before the Pope, nor yet the Zionist leader harried by an opposition that was charging him with disloyalty to the cause.

Both these personages had disappeared and given place to an impersonality that spoke from out of the depths of the centuries. Herzl gazing steadily at the physical embodiment of what was labelled "Rome," identified himself as "Jerusalem."

"He received me standing, and held out his hand, which I did not kiss. I believe I spoiled my case with him, for all who approach him kneel or at least kiss his hand. This hand kissing worried me much. I was much relieved when I had passed it. He sat tensely in an armchair, a throne for small occasions. He is a good, heavily built village priest, whose Christianity has remained alive in the Vatican."

Herzl explained his mission in Italian. "He, however, perhaps because of my refusal to kiss his hand—answered sharply and definitely, 'Noi non possiamo favorire questo movimento.' " The conflict between Rome and Jerusalem that the Pope and Herzl represented unrolled itself. "Said the Pope: It is not pleasant that the Turks possess our Holy Places. But we must bear with it. But we cannot favor the Jews in their desire for the Holy Places." Herzl suggested he was most concerned over Jewish misery, and desired to set the religions to one side.

"We, as head of the Church cannot do that. Two alternatives are possible. Either the Jews remain by their faith, and await the coming of the Messiah, who has already come for us—there you deny the Divinity of Jesus, and we cannot help you—or you enter without any religion. Then we surely cannot be for you. The Jewish religion was the basis of our faith, but it was replaced by the teachings of Christ. . . . The Jews who should have been the first to acknowledge Jesus Christ do not even now acknowledge him."

"It was on the tip of my tongue to answer, 'That's just what happens in every family. The family does not believe in its relatives.' But instead I said, 'Attacks and persecutions

were perhaps not the right means for teaching the Jews.' But his response was magnificent in its simplicity:

" 'Our Lord came without power. He was poor. He came in peace. He persecuted none. He was persecuted. Even the apostles abandoned him. Only afterwards did he grow. Only three hundred years later was the Church developed. The Jews therefore had sufficient time without pressure, to acknowledge his divinity. But they do not even today.'

" 'But, Holy Father, the Jews suffer terribly. I do not know whether your Holiness is familiar with the details of their sad circumstances. We need a land for our persecuted.'

" 'Must it be Jerusalem?'

" 'We require not Jerusalem, but Palestine, the profane land.'

" 'We cannot be for that.'

" 'Are you Holy father familiar with the condition of the Jews.'

" 'Yes, I know of it in Mantua. There are Jews there. I have always been friendly to Jews. Only the other evening two Jews called on me. There are other considerations besides religion; courtesy and charity. These we do not deny Jews. We also pray for you, that your sins be lightened. Just today the Church celebrates the festival of an unbeliever who in a wondrous manner on the road to Damascus was converted to the right faith and so if you go to Palestine and settle your people there we will have priests and churches ready to baptize all of you. . . .'

" 'The end was 'non possumus.' The Pope blew his nose in a large red cotton handkerchief. His pleasant simplicity was the most admirable and inspiring thing about him. . . .'

Lippay knelt long before him and could not kiss his hand enough. I saw that the Pope liked that. But I only pressed his hand warmly and bowed low. In the Raphael corridor, where I spent an hour, I saw the picture of the Emperor kneeling before the sitting Pope who crowns him.

" 'So Rome desires.'

Between his reception by Cardinal Merry del Val and his audience with the Pope, Herzl was received at

the Palace of the Quirinal by the King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel.

"In the audience chamber, the King in General's uniform without sword, came towards me, and as though we were old friends smilingly offered his hand. He is small but broad shouldered and held himself with military erectness. His diminutive size is a cause of annoyance to him. He impressed me otherwise as shrewd, well educated, very kindly disposed, and capable. Once he sits down he does not seek to impose. . . . He put me at my ease. We chatted comfortably for an hour. There was nothing of royal posing about him. He spoke freely and thinks quickly. He was wholly sympathetic to Jews and discussed the intimate phases of the Jewish problem with great spirit.

" 'I know Palestine very well,' said the King. 'I was often there. I was there when my father was killed. The country is already very Jewish. It will and it must be yours. It is only a question of time. When you have half a million Jews there.'

" 'They are not permitted to enter there.'

" 'With baksheesh you can do everything!' Of the Sultan the King said, 'The only thing that influences him is money. If you offer him for the Jordan Valley half its economic value, he will let you have it.' "

The King had an engaging personality. He knew all about Palestine, about the Pseudo Messiah, Sabbathai Zevi, with whom an ancestor of his conspired, in order to become King of Macedonia, Cyprus, any land that needed a king. He discussed the Messianic idea in Judaism.

He was really informed. "There are Jews who come here who obviously are nervous when they hear the word 'Jew.' I don't like that. When I really talk with Jews, I like those who are willing to be what they are." He disliked the Uganda plan. "The love for Jerusalem pleases me." But he was a constitutional monarch, and while

he promised to speak favorably to all Turks who came to him, he urged Herzl to discuss the official Italian attitude with Tittoni, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs. This Herzl did and Tittoni said that, acting on the King's advice, he had instructed the Italian Ambassador in Constantinople to support the Russian effort in favor of Zionism.

For Tittoni Herzl wrote a summary of the Zionists' aims and a brief view of his diplomatic efforts. He concluded:

"If it is simple to enumerate them, it is difficult to relate without emotion the miserable situation in which our poor Jews in Russia, Roumania, Galicia, etc., are living. Emigration to America is not a remedy. Everywhere they find themselves in the same political, social, and economic misery, even in the free countries, which, at any rate, are beginning to close their ports to this immigration. Anti-Semitism makes life hard for them everywhere. For Italy these struggles and hardships are only a distant noise. Italy is not even lightly touched by the Jewish Question, and it is exactly for this reason that her government could render a great service to humanity by lending a hand to the solution of this question so full of sorrows."

When Nahum Sokolow interviewed the same Italian King years later, he saw on the monarch's desk a photograph of Herzl. The King, pointing to the picture, said: "He was a real man."

Herzl's diary of his visit to Rome records an amusing account of his meeting Senator Malvona, the permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, a Jew of the type the King had graphically described.

"He could not refuse to see me because I had been received by the King. But he had informed the good Ravenna (the leader of the Italian Zionists) that he would talk to me only about art and science as he is an anti-Zionist. . . .

"He spoke rapidly, without interruption, about everything, trade, reminiscences of Victor Emanuel II, Italian Unity, Cavour and Garibaldi's entry into Rome and into that building in which we now met, only a few hours after the cardinals and papal soldiers had left. He described himself as a small man—in order that I should ask nothing from him—and he is that. He is a clerk in the wholesale department of Italy. He must be normally very laconic. His fear of Zionism made him loquacious.

"I left without having mentioned Zionism."

He said at parting: 'I have had so many experiences. One thing I have neglected, to keep a diary.'

"'I keep one!' said I, and smiled at him.

"And there he stands, the Jew Malvano.

"Whom a writer has imprisoned not even God can rescue."

And this comment on the editor of the *Neue Freie Presse*.

"Little Benedict has again tripped up. De Fiore telegraphed my audiences with the King and the Pope. Benedict put the messages in his pocket." Herzl was thoroughly satisfied with his Italian experiences. He had in December informed the Grand Duke of Baden of the support he had obtained from Russia and urged that the German Ambassador should second the Russian effort being made in Constantinople. From Rome he again wrote the Grand Duke: "So if I am not mistaken matters have advanced with the Quirinal and the Vatican." He suggested that the Kaiser should accord him another audience. In this letter in which he recited succinctly all the support of the powers he had obtained he reverted to the old phrase, based on von Plehve's letter, "Jewish State in Palestine." His mind and interests were in Palestine while the public discussion was still raging around East Africa which to him was already a "sleeping" issue.



HERZL AND HIS THREE CHILDREN: PAULINE, TRUDEL
AND HANS IN HIS STUDY.

On his return to Vienna he found a message from Greenberg that the charter for East Africa was ready and in view of the possible fall of the British Government he wanted Herzl's consent to accept the charter, subject to approval and the report of the investigation commission. The Vienna executive was divided on the main issue and believed the draft forwarded by Greenberg differed somewhat in respect to territory from the original offer. Herzl had, however, decided not to release the British Government by raising any such issue; in fact, he sought to postpone final action, believing time was on his side. He expected to go to London in June and then he would settle any difference as to East Africa with the British officials.

Indeed, he was pressing for completion of the Acca-Sandjak concession on Turkey. That was to be the opening wedge in the final great effort. C——, one of his Turkish secret agents, came to Vienna and wanted new instructions. Herzl dismissed him curtly. He had no further use for him but he felt obliged to send Dr. Leopold Kahn, one of the members of the Actions Comite, and David Levontine, the Manager of the Anglo Palestine Company, to Constantinople to ascertain whether it was true that the Sublime Porte was willing to farm out the taxes of the Sandjak of Acca, which might prove one way of obtaining possession or at least a foothold.

He learned at the end of March that Jacob H. Schiff of New York was in Frankfort-on-the-Main, and wrote him suggesting that he would like to discuss the "Jewish emigration problem" with him in May in London.

II.

But now Herzl had to return to the struggle within the Zionist Organization over East Africa. Some members in London were loudly for it; the nine Russians were equally determined to oppose it. The Greater Actions Comite was called into session in Vienna on Monday, April 12. It was attended by all the members of the Viennese Committee and representatives from England, Austria, Hungary, Germany, Roumania, Serbia, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Russia—including all the malcontents—and France; the United States was represented by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

While he addressed the conference in peaceful terms, Herzl for the first time introduced the personal note.

"In spite of all difficulties and drawbacks which I have had to undergo, I have resolved to speak to you words of peace. I know what unrest exists in the ranks of our poor, brave, good, loyal Zionists all the world over, and particularly in Russia, with what great misgivings they have looked forward to this Conference, how they feared that this laboriously created foundation of a national organisation for the furtherance of national aims might be impaired. More particularly will I forget everything directed against me personally. Where I do begin to take exception is at the moment when the efficiency of the organization, the completion of the work, the strengthening of the bonds of union, the carrying out of the tasks are at stake, which were entrusted to us at the Congress and for the accomplishment of which we, by accepting our mandates, rendered ourselves responsible to the Congress."

After recapitulating his Russian experiences, Herzl continued:

"This success, great though it was, does not justify us in rejecting the magnanimous offer of the British government to grant a stretch of territory to our unfortunate masses. My

personal standpoint in this matter is that we had no right simply to reject such an offer without asking our people. This proposal may be summed up in a phrase: it is 'a piece of bread.' I, who, perhaps, have cake to eat, have no right to refuse a piece of bread offered to the poor because I do not want it or need it myself. My sympathies might perhaps be aroused if even in the stress of hunger ideal considerations prevailed and it were said, 'we do not want this proposal.' But we were bound to put the question. The occurrences after the Congress profoundly moved me. Not so much that there was a considerable minority, or that they withdrew, but because I had to ask myself whether these people, with whom I had worked for so many years, really believed that I could give up Palestine. That moved me profoundly and I went to the 'Neinsagers' and told them all I felt. I then expected from the good will of our friends that they would gradually clear their minds and come to a clear understanding. . . . In this reliance on my colleagues I have been grievously disappointed. Soon after the Congress an agitation was instituted which has wrought great harm to our movement. In particular, certain gentlemen took exception to my intervention in Russia, in spite of the fact that it was at their instance I determined on this journey. The journey, as you know, was successful. But this success did not prevent war from being declared against me. I gave the representative of the Russian members of the Greater Actions Comite, Professor Belkowsky, at Aussee, every possible information on the situation. I therefore expected that Dr. Belkowsky would apprise his colleagues of their gross error. I would add that this letter to von Plehve was despatched long before the agitation against me began. I impugn the competence of the Charkow Conference. Its members introduced a canker into the movement which I desire may be removed. No more was demanded of me than that I should influence the Congress against myself. I repeat what I said at the beginning. We consider ourselves bound to carry out the resolve of the Congress, represented by the majority, to examine the details of the British offer. Nevertheless, we have meanwhile, as you may observe from documents submitted to you and steps taken, done everything possible for Palestine—everything that our judgment and conscience could dictate. I desire here to emphasize the fact that I require lessons from no one in zeal for Palestine. But we must be zealous, too, as

far as possible without the sacrifice of convictions and the neglect of duty, to restore unity and maintain the integrity of our organization. For this it is necessary for the gentlemen who have taken up an obstructionist attitude to declare whether they regard the resolutions of the Sixth Congress as equally binding on the majority and minority. I would remind you that when the two mothers stood before Solomon the one that wished to cut the child in two was not the rightful mother."

Ussischkin, who opened the debate, was wholly unmoved by Herzl's statement. He wanted not merely Herzl's word but a declaration from the conference binding the leaders "that they would not take up matters that were not limited to Palestine." He had but one excuse for Herzl, "great men had great failings." He and his associates would not remain in the company of those who would interest themselves in East Africa. Ussischkin's supporters followed in the same trend but not so insistently. They maintained that "those who were for Zion had no longer common ground with those who were for Uganda."

The issue was fought squarely. Of the Russian members present only two, Prof. Mandelstamm and Dr. Jelski of Lodz, supported Herzl. According to the estimates of some of the Russians the annual increase in Jewish population then amounted to 150,000, and these Zionist leaders confessed that they could not visualize an emigration movement large enough to diminish the pressure of population. That made the East African scheme look like folly as well as heresy to them. For the first time the basic differences between Herzl's views and those of the Lovers of Zion were thus discussed. The Austrian and German delegates essayed the role of peacemakers and made clear that their Zionism was not based on philanthropy, as the Russians had assumed.

Herzl closed the debate, which lasted two days, with another avowal of his attitude.

"The Charkow ultimatum was a declaration of war, and was universally regarded as such. I would have had no objection if this contest had been fought with the legitimate means provided by our constitution. That, however, has not been the case. Our organization has rather been made to serve private ends. You are in error if you believe that I will exert pressure on the Congress on behalf of East Africa. I will exercise no pressure of any sort, because I desire that on the basis of authentic facts the general wish may become apparent. I am sufficiently democratic to leave the decision to the people. East Africa is said to be a trifling affair. If that be so, then it is powerless—and there I agree—to solve the Jewish question, which would remain in status quo, and the great Zionist movement would be unaffected.

"But I believe there are certain grades of misery where all the faculties are dead, that there is misery where not even the slight consciousness necessary to grasp an idea exists, and if we are conscientious administrators of Jewish affairs, then, as leaders, we are morally bound to regard this obligation as vitally affecting us. As humanitarians we cannot ignore this question of the lowest strata of the proletariat—a question which, I confess, is not a Jewish question pure and simple.

"An attempt has also been made to set the leadership of the party in opposition to the organization. But the Zionist Organization as distinct from its leaders can do nothing for the acquisition of Palestine. Even if they numbered as many hundred thousands as we are thousands, the organisation could do nothing. It can at the most provide the means, but to do the work necessary for the accomplishment of our aims the organisation is absolutely unsuited. This function can solely and exclusively be discharged by the leaders, and in order to show you that the latter are firm in their adhesion to these aims, I read a document to you in the course of my first speech. It is an error to believe that by means of the organisation alone our aim can be achieved. The organisation is a multitude, and can do less than single persons.

"I personally am not going to East Africa. Although the nonsense may have been uttered that I desired to become a

viceroy in Uganda, but in Russia and Turkey, Italy, and even in England, where I negotiated for East Africa, I worked for Palestine and none could reproach me with having been faithless to Zionism, even if I said I was going to Uganda. I introduced myself to you as the advocate of a Jewish State. In the course of our work I have learned much and have come to realise that the solution for us lies only in Palestine. If when I tell you that I always was and am still a Zionist, that all my efforts are directed towards Palestine, you have every reason to believe me. I have much to forgive you for all that you have been guilty of against me. I will overlook all. Merely do your duty—I require no more—as organized Zionists, without stifling your views, fight as much as you like, endeavor to obtain a majority at the Congress, but do not employ the machinery of the movement against the movement, but bring into play merely your own personal qualities. I advise you to submit to the decisions of the Congress as every one else must.

“Hitherto I have not fought against you. I make proposals of conciliation not because I have any misgivings as to the issue of the contest. You would inevitably go under, as we have an overwhelming majority. I desire, however, that you should go home and tell your people that you know that the Executive in Vienna is at work; do not look at the half-finished and half-begun edifice, but wait until it is completed and continue to bestow confidence on those in whom you have hitherto trusted and who have done nothing to betray that trust. In this city of Vienna, one day I separated myself from my family circle, from all my acquaintances, and all my friends and as a single individual enlisted for what in my judgment was the right. I have no need for a majority. What I need is only that I be honest as to my own convictions. Then I am satisfied, even though not a dog accepts a piece of bread from my hand.”

The struggle ended for the time being in a resolution of conciliation.

“The Greater Actions Comite have satisfaction in taking cognizance of the continued efforts of the Smaller Actions Comite for Palestine. The Greater Actions Comite takes it for granted that the Actions Comite, in accordance with

the resolutions of the Sixth Congress, will undertake the despatch of the African expedition. As, however, the question of the colonisation of East Africa will not be decided till the Seventh Congress, the discussion of this as of all other pending questions remains open in accordance with previous custom.

"Further, the Greater Actions Comite has, after thorough discussion, cleared up and disposed of the misunderstandings which have arisen in the last few months in consequence of warmly conducted polemics on all sides, which disturbed the work of our movement.

"The questions not affecting the East African scheme raised by the Russian members of the Actions Comite are referred to the Smaller Actions Comite for consideration and report.

"The East African scheme may be freely discussed by all. At the same time each member of the Actions Comite pledges himself to avoid all personal attacks not only in the official circulars, but as far as possible to exercise his influence to guard against such attacks and generally against the discussion assuming a harmful form."

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise described the result of the conference in a cable message from Vienna as "unity restored." There was peace in the sense that the agitation ceased but the Charkow group returned to Russia to continue the fight on new lines. As individuals they not only irked at Herzl's dominance and remarkable mass support but they had come to understand that while they had served to some extent in Herzl's political efforts, he had in no wise yielded to their colonisation propaganda, and was not even remotely interested in their cultural concepts. Herzl beyond his congress address had made no appeal for the East African project. Yet the nine men of Charkow who believed they represented the bone and sinew, the soul and tradition of Zionism had been overridden by a hurricane of disapproval. In vain had Dr. Gaster attempted to separate the Jewish Question from the Zionist Question in his

many addresses in England, the challenge to the Herzlian leadership had failed utterly. While, as we know the East African project was already practically among the things of the past to Herzl, he stood at this moment, in the position when he could thrust out of the movement all men and the ideas which he regarded as hurtful to the cause. But though he thoroughly disliked some of his opponents and made no attempt to conceal his feelings, Herzl was too deeply involved in the creation of a Jewish policy to bear his personal opponents malice. There is no record of his having even been angered by Ussischkin's abortive attempt to break his power by holding a congress in Palestine in the summer of 1903. He distrusted the leaders of the Russian Lovers of Zion from his first meeting with them. Their ideas did not impress him, their methods made no appeal to him. He pitied their lack of modernity. He had as we have seen employed the emotional opposition to East Africa to serve his main purpose with Russia and Turkey. His mind was as ever on action. If his August forecast of victory in the spring of 1904 erred, it was in his judgment only temporarily postponed. All this clamorous debate, these polemics, and endless arguments would disappear in achievement. A fig for Charkow! He trusted the Jewish masses and those masses trusted him. A leader must lead and he prepared during those wordy Viennese days for victory. For one thing he had received a very broad promise of financial support from Jacob H. Schiff and Herzl believed that Americans would understand what European millionaires could not appreciate, capital investment on a considerable scale for Jewish freedom. Moreover politically the sun was beginning to come out of the clouds in the Balkans

and the Near East. The powers had made some headway with the Macedonian question and it looked as though the next time he went to Constantinople he could induce both the Turkish officials and the ambassadors, directed by their governments, to aid him, to concentrate on the Jewish Palestinean question. East Africa had served him. It had added to his prestige and he expected to negotiate with Turkey on terms approaching equality.

While he listened to the discussions at the Vienna Conference his mind was on a visit to London and conferences at the Colonial Office. His associates during the conference noted his haggard appearance and begged him to take a vacation. But neither he nor they realized that physically he was a spent force and that most of those who met him in session at that gathering had seen him for the last time. He was so resolute, so determined and so successfully suppressed general knowledge of his serious ailment that the slight slackening of effort that was manifest after the conference was regarded as a natural reaction creating alarm only among his most intimate friends.

III.

The pace began to slacken. It was not until April 27 that he resumed his correspondence; then he wrote Mr. Schiff again:

"Many thanks for your friendly letter from Berlin dated April 21. You say that 'you are ready with all your might' to give practical help to our suppressed and unfortunate people.

"This is a big word, coming from a man like you and I am happy to have received it. Do not believe, however, for a moment that I would be stupid enough to try and influence you

blindly to follow all my ideas. All I would like to have is to get your greatly valued help in things where we meet on common ground. For heaven's sake do not think for a moment that I intend to beg from you for our cause. No, alms are solely a means for breeding beggars. What I would like to have from you is your cooperation from step to step and you shall examine each one of them first.

"I had intended to give you my practical suggestions orally. Unfortunately, I am afraid that I shall not be able to leave here, neither this nor next week. Professional duties are keeping me back.

"However, as I want to inform you thoroughly about the matter before your return to the United States, I am sending you one of the few men who has my absolute confidence, Dr. Katzenelsohn of Libau, and ask you kindly to receive him in London on May 2.

"The only thing I regret, my dear Mr. Schiff, is that I shall not be fortunate enough now to make your personal acquaintance. But I do hope that we shall approach each other in an undertaking which is as big as the moral and material suffering we hope to relieve is terrible."

Two days later, explaining his Schiff correspondence to Lord Rothschild, he wrote:

"I have the intention of coming to London in June, because I have some arrangements to make with the British Government. On this occasion I hope to see you also. I have carried out several projects since we last saw each other, but unfortunately I have not yet been able to do anything definite towards relieving the terrible misery of our masses.

"God knows, there exists still much opposition among those who could help us in this direction. Therefore a few leading personalities would have to be won over to our cause."

In what was practically his last public statement, a letter written April 28 for the ensuing Convention of the Federation of American Zionists, he wrote: "East Africa offers us no solution of the Jewish Question." And he ended his letter almost with the same thought on

which he had predicated his effort nine years before: "We have accepted no charity and our policy is not the policy of philanthropy. A nation does not accept philanthropy, our policy is a national one."

On the last day of the month he had his first interview with Austria's foreign minister, Goluchowski. Despite the friendship of von Koerber, he had never before met the man who for years directed Austria's foreign policy. He found Goluchowski more amenable than he had anticipated. "To please him I spoke French. He speaks it as well as I do, with some intonations characteristic of the *Comedie Francaise*." Herzl showed him von Plehve's confidential letter. "Russia was for it—he was immediately in accord." The Minister discussed the rise of violent anti-Semitism in France, a country so scantily populated by Jews, and the small number of Jews in the world. If there were only 100,000 Jews in Jesus' time there should be over a billion now. The colloquy is interesting.

Herzl: "We suffered cruelly in the Middle Ages."

Goluchowski: "But the Christians were also persecuted. The first Christians, for example."

Herzl: "The first Christians were Jews."

Goluchowski had some knowledge of the miseries of the Jews in Galicia.

"He is for my solution. But in his opinion it cannot and dare not be either a small or half measure. If it is only a matter of one hundred or two hundred thousand Jews the Great Powers could not afford to move in the matter. But they could, if land and rights could be obtained from Turkey, for from five to six million Jews."

"'I do not demand so much,' I answered. 'Excellency, will you head such an effort?'"

“ ‘This is not the moment. We are not finished with Macedonia . . . a positive plan for complete action is necessary.’ ”

Herzl outlined his plans. The minister thought well of them and suggested that Herzl should obtain the support of Count Tiza, the Hungarian leader. Goluchowski went further. He regarded the return of the Jews as so desirable that he conceived it possible to induce the Powers to support it financially. It was desirable that England should take the initiative.

“The ‘patriotic’ comfortable Jews—if they could have listened to this, what a picture they would have made!”

Goluchowski urged him to call again and bade him “au revoir.”

IV.

At last he was on the road to positive success. Austria was willing to aid. The Powers would in the judgment of the Austrian Foreign Minister address a joint note to Turkey on the Jewish settlement of Palestine. Only the support of France was lacking and that Herzl believed could be obtained through Russia. He had still to win Hungarian support but that was no insurmountable obstacle. Little wonder that he characterized this as a discussion freighted with “great possible consequences.”

But that same night he returned home so ill that medical aid was needed. He was ordered to Franzenbad for six weeks to recuperate. He left Vienna two days later. One of his associates who saw him prior to his departure wrote:

“The tremendous exertions which Herzl had made to turn the dream of his life into reality undermined the very founda-

tions of his strength. I remember the last time I saw him. We met in the Kriean, an open-air cafe in Vienna. He looked a broken man and could hardly suppress the sighs which rose to his lips. His heart was affected, so that he could hold himself upright only with difficulty. His eyes, though tired, still smouldered in his livid face, eyes that had once observed the world so acutely. What scorn had once flashed from them!"

Herzl recorded his arrival in Franzenbad in a letter to his wife, dated May 3:

"I just arrived here safe and sound, of course only as a passenger. At the station the people were so little prepared for such a lively traffic of strangers that they did not discharge my trunks from the train. So they were shipped to Elster. I hope to get them back again.

"I am the only guest in the house; as yet there is not a bed in my room. The hostess was speechless at my appearance. Moreover, I am here not only the sole man, but also the sole woman.

"A hug for you and the dear, pretty children.

THEODOR."

On the 6th he wrote Wolffsohn: "I am taking a heart cure. My mother knows nothing of this. She believes I am here for a rest. Do nothing foolish whilst I am dead."

Katzenelsohn, who had met Mr. Schiff, proceeded to Franzenbad and acquainted Herzl with the details of a plan that had been evolved whereby Mr. Schiff, at the head of a Pan-American syndicate, at the request of the English Government, would finance a loan for Russia provided Russia would do something for the Jews. Herzl was enthusiastic but physically prostrated. To Katzenelsohn he said: "To what purpose shall we fool ourselves? I have heard the ringing of the third bell. I

am no coward, I look at death composedly. The more so as I have employed the last years of my life usefully. I have not been a very bad servant of the cause. . . . There is no more time for jokes. It is bitter earnest." Notwithstanding this he had remained up all night composing the memorandum he wanted Katzenelsohn to deliver in St. Petersburg. When Katzenelsohn rebuked him for thus wasting his strength, he answered: "Yes, my friend, you saw my condition yesterday; we have no time to lose. The last weeks or days; we are in haste!" To his wife he wrote May 10:

"Today I received your Sunday letter, but none of yesterday's date. Katzenelsohn goes back again today. He made the journey from Berlin directly to this place and is obliged to hasten home. Today I was taking my sixth bath. The bath is not in the house, but, however, not far away. There was a distraction today for the seven guests: The Casino burnt down. The weather being bad, I am reading a great deal."

On the 13th, though, he recorded in English in his diary, "broken down," he managed to write about Katzenelsohn's project to von Plehve.

"Very recently I had my friend, Dr. Katzenelsohn of Libau, get in touch with a very well known American banker about a Zionist affair. On this occasion, Mr. Katzenelsohn learned certain things which would, in my humble opinion, be very interesting to the Imperial Government.

"I advised my friend, who came here from London to give me an account of his interview, immediately to request an audience with Your Excellency.

"Mr. Katzenelsohn, whom you know, Excellency, is a modest timid gentleman, and he is afraid to bother you.

"Were it not for my shattered health, I would have solicited, by telegram, an audience for myself, so much am I convinced that this affair would take an important shape in your hands."

Goluchowski's idea had impressed him and from his sick-bed he wrote the departmental chief of the Austrian Foreign Minister:

"Count Goluchowski was good enough to promise me his support, in the event of the matter being great enough, to obtain a joint letter from the Powers. Therefore, Turkey must be requested to grant an area in Palestine and adjacent territory large enough to settle five or six million Jews.

"For various reasons Count Goluchowski does not want to take the lead in the matter at this time.

"He indicated that he would prefer to see the initiative taken by England. Count Goluchowski would join in a move undertaken by England, and I was able to show him a confidential letter sent to me by the Russian government, indicating that Russia would accept the English initiative. The support of Germany and Italy can be regarded as assured. I will show you all these confidential documents. The question is how to formulate the matter diplomatically."

After detailing his well known general plan, he continued, asking aid in obtaining the cooperation of the Austrian Ambassador in Constantinople, as well as of the Austrian Ambassador to the Court of St. James.

Two days later (May 16) he took up the thread of the Katzenelsohn project by writing to Mr. Schiff explaining his position:

"My friend, Dr. Katzenelsohn, has returned here from London and has told me about the hearty reception you gave him. Allow me to thank you warmly for it. Dr. K. has also informed me that he has given you a copy of my confidential instructions, to which I give my belated sanction, because I rely on your discretion absolutely.

"I need not tell you that the matter must be treated with the utmost secrecy, especially insofar as the gentlemen of the Jewish Colonisation Association are concerned. From them anything is to be expected rather than approval. Of course,

there are splendid men even among the managers of that body, but as a body they have always shown hostility whenever a really great undertaking to meet a really acute state of misery has been put into motion on our part. I really do not know why it is that the gentlemen in question would rather fritter away Hirsch's money in many little purposeless undertakings that represent anything but Jewish colonization. If it were not for the terrible fact that our masses are dying in misery in the slums, while such a remedy remains unused, one could make humorous reflections about it, for instance: The greatest enemy of a testator is his executor. Or the relatives of de Hirsch have now at least the satisfaction of knowing that the poor Jews do not get any benefit of the money either.

"However, I will not waste any more thoughts on the I. C. A. and its faults. If we do not need them any more they will come running after us."

He wrote no more letters on Zionist affairs and made no more entries in his diary. He returned to Vienna for a few days. On June 3 his wife and Johann Kremenezky escorted him to Edlach, Semmering. He had arranged his papers. On his desk he left a single sheet of paper on which he wrote in English a single line from the burial service, clearly indicating that he foresaw that death was imminent. The broken sentence read: "In the midst of life we are in death."

The little village of Edlach, which lies like a large garden at the foot of the Alpine meadows on the Rax, pleased him. He occupied a small one-storied house there. Contrary to all anticipations, he began to gain strength. On June 9 he wrote his son:

"On your dear birthday I wish you health, happiness, and success in all matters now and at all times. If God wills you will be recompensed for your somewhat spoiled birthday, as soon as I can again be with you, my dear one. After your examination we shall with God's help meet happily in Aussee."



LILLIEN'S DESIGN OF A STAINED GLASS WINDOW OF "MOSES"
IN WHICH HE USED THE HEAD OF HERZL.

He began to plan and write and discussed going to Hamburg for treatment. Wolffsohn visited him and went away despairing—the doctors held out no hope. He was being nursed by his wife and she afterwards confessed that she had understood the serious nature of his malady for years. But Herzl felt buoyant again. He rose, dressed, and walked in the garden. This was probably the cause of the final collapse. On July 1 he was compelled to remain in bed; he was suffering from a cold which had settled on his lungs. He understood the gravity of his case. "Greet Palestine for me," he said to one of his visitors. "I gave my blood for my people." Uncomplaining, conserving what energy was left in him, he awaited the end.

V.

Dr. Siegmund Werner, who aided in nursing him and who as editor of *Die Welt* was close to his chief, has described with great feeling those last hours.

"The sea—do you know, how I love it! To lie in the hot sand and gaze silently. And to recover, to recover! Then it shall become a life, such as I have never lived yet!" Thus he spoke to his faithful nurse a few days before the trip he was planning. We, too, were hopeful and were anxiously awaiting the Friday, July 1, on which he was to arrive at Vienna. A telegram came at noon, to Oscar Marmorek, telling him to come immediately to Edlach, accompanied by two doctors, as Herzl's condition had become worse and he was suffering from a torturing cough. When I came to Marmorek's house, in order to accompany him to the railway station, and learned the reason of the sudden delay, I began to worry.

We decided to call to the sick-bed, besides the house physician, Dr. Bondi, also Dr. Asch and Dr. Gustave Singer, a friend of the family. We were impatiently awaiting the departure of the train which was to take us—Marmorek, Dr. Singer, A. H. Reich, and myself—to Edlach. At the station we were joined by an old non-Jewish friend of Herzl's as well as of our cause, while Dr. Bondi had already hurriedly departed by an earlier train. In our anxiety the express train seemed to move too slowly. . . .

We had decided that Marmorek and Dr. Singer would go to see Herzl immediately upon arrival, while the remaining three of us would be mentioned to him the next morning, in order that he should not be frightened by the sudden presence of so many friends.

While awaiting the result of the medical consultation, I was called to Herzl's bedside. His wife had told him of my arrival and he called for me immediately. I hurried through the dark garden towards the pavilion where my dear friend and leader was lying. At the entrance I was met by his wife, and after a friendly greeting she asked me to stay with the patient. As long as Mrs. Herzl could stand on her feet she never left her husband's bedside and had hardly permitted herself to be assisted by a nurse. Willingly I agreed to stay! Mrs. Herzl led me through an adjoining room; another door—and I saw him, with outstretched arms, wink to me, and I heard the voice, which was so caressing when he greeted a friend: "My dear Werner!" For a moment I became so weak that I had to lean on the foot of the bed, but the next instant I was standing at the bedside shaking his hands, and was looking into the dear face, which was painfully smiling. And while the doctors were still con-

sulting in the adjoining room, we agreed that thenceforward I would stay with him, to care for him together with a nurse.

The doctors came in and informed us that they had diagnosed a bronchial catarrh and prescribed the necessary treatment, to which the patient confidently submitted himself. Another short talk, which was to encourage the patient and instil into him new confidence, and I found myself alone with the patient, to watch him overnight.

With his usual consideration he asked me to forgive him for giving me the trouble. Only when I had assured him that I was envied by many for being near him, he expressed his satisfaction. "You shall see," said he, again and again shaking my hands, "you shall see that I am an obedient patient. Nurse me to health, and then we shall rejoice!" I asked him not to talk so much, as it was a strain for him. He obeyed and lay quietly, after showing me how to hold him during the attacks of coughing. Now I could observe him well. It was clear that he was a very sick man. He breathed with a whistling sound. Although in a half-sitting, half-lying position, he had to lift himself up constantly and lean on both hands, in order to be able to breathe more freely. His forehead was covered with cold perspiration, the eyes half-closed most of the time. His face was yellow. Still, it had not lost the beauty and character of the olden days, and looked chiseled in the mass of the slightly grayish beard and hair. His hands had become smaller and were nervously moving over the bed-covers. This sick, suffering man was Herzl, whom I had seen for so many years full of proud strength, full of aspiring projects for his people, full of energy in his hard work.

Here lay the hope of hundreds of thousands, and alas, there was no doubt it was soon to be extinguished!

The patient became more restless. I patted him, quieted him, told how easy it was to overcome a catarrh, when treated in time, and promised to give him later a sleeping medicine, as he had not slept for nights. This was also to relieve the difficulty of breathing. He sighed. "Do you know," he said, "I always believed I knew what fear or terror means. But all that can be imagined is but a plaything in comparison with that dreadful horror, the lack of breath. Oh, to be able to breathe freely and deeply!"

I tried to reassure him as much as I could, stressing the idea that with the disappearance of the catarrh the shortness of breath would disappear. I handed him the medicine. He again lifted himself up, attacked by frequent coughing spells, and after each attack he noted the bloody expectoration. "My blood," he said—"I did not think I would shed it in this way." Sleep did not come soon. At last he dozed off in a light slumber. But in about five or ten minutes a new coughing spell woke him and, disturbed, he looked around. When he saw me near him, he felt reassured. He took my hand and dozed off again. Twice he succeeded in having a half-hour's sleep. From time to time he mumbled in his sleep. Then he straightened up again and stared at me. "Did you inform Cowen?" I answered: "Yes." "Write him to wait and not to bring the matter to an end yet." I promised to do it. He again fell into a restless sleep, constantly disturbed by coughing. Then he suddenly straightened up again. His eyes wide-open, the upper part of his body stretched stiff, he sat there, as if listening. Then suddenly, he said with a sonorous voice: "Ad

loca! Ad loca!" And his right hand was striking the bed cover as if hammering.

I sprang to my feet and put my arm around him. When I pressed him close to me, he came to. "You?" he said. "But you were just" . . . the rest of the sentence was lost in a mumble. I put him softly back on the pillow. He was awake for a time, with a far-away look in his eyes, and the lips were silently moving, and the right hand hammered again, once, twice. . . . Then slumber again.

But I sat there and looked at him with burning eyes. I tried to guess what was going on behind that forehead. And I see the Congress Hall at Basle. The thick mass of delegates in their formal dress, the gallery full to the breaking point; in the front the reporters, full of expectation, around the tribune, above the presidium, head in hand; and in front Herzl, in all his dignity, with a paper in his hand. I hear him read, slowly, loud, stressing with marked strength the more important parts. And then an endless storm of ovation. And he stands upright, in the midst of new outbreaks of applause, and looks earnestly and unmoved at the noisy throng and—and suddenly I begin to think that my heart will burst. I am shaken with a fit of crying, which no efforts of mine can suppress. Then Herzl lifts himself up. "Did you not tell me something?" he asks me. I am already near him. "No," I say quietly. "I thought . . . or maybe it was I who spoke." A strong coughing spell made it unnecessary for me to answer.

It was a case of a weakened heart with a complicated lung-affection. When the physician who was treating him, Dr. Konried, the head of the Edlach Sanatorium, came to see the patient in the morning, he did not notice

any change for the worse in his condition. At the same time we had no doubt that the further development of the lung-affection would be absolutely fatal. On that day Herzl was particularly anxious to see his mother and children. He seemed to feel that he had not many hours to live. In the forenoon, as soon as he would wake up from the light slumber, into which he would fall from time to time, he would ask me whether they were already there, while I had already told him that they could not arrive before Sunday morning. Then he began to fear that they did not want to admit his mother to him. I had to give him my word she would be admitted as soon as she should arrive. I gave him that promise under the condition that he should not get excited and that the first meeting should not last any longer than five minutes. He agreed to that. Yet he reminded me several times of my promise during the following anxious hours. Meanwhile I had informed him that the other two gentlemen, that came with us, wanted to speak to him. He talked first with his old non-Jewish friend, then with the secretary of the Congress-Bureau, A. H. Reich, whom he greeted familiarly as "my adjutant."

During the day his condition became better. Still Herzl was restless. Whenever I left him for a while, or Reich had to attend to something urgent, we had to promise him to return immediately. During the morning Dr. Asch took leave of Herzl, who kissed him good-bye. In the afternoon Marmorek again came to see Herzl and found that he looked a little better. But I noticed that he was much more restless than before. Again and again he begged that we should bring his mother and children to him immediately upon arrival. Towards the evening he became still more excited. When

after spending at his bedside almost uninterruptedly twenty-four hours, I left him for a little while to take a bite, it excited him very much.

When I came back, he said to me: "You are my friend! How can you leave me!" Marmorek, who was present, tried to help me appease him. I concluded that he was oppressed with some anxiety and fear, and in the evening we gave him enough medicine to quiet him. And, indeed, it had a good effect upon him. . . .

At 1 o'clock I went to rest. As Reich told me, the second part of the night was not so good for Herzl. He could slumber only in a sitting position and was also a little drowsy. When, after a violent attack of coughing, he felt especially exhausted, he said to Reich: "Yes, dear Reich, you will soon have a great work to do." When Reich looked at him inquiringly, he added: "You will soon have to call a Congress together." Reich succeeded in quieting him and he dozed off again. Suddenly he woke up. "These three pieces of ground," he exclaimed, pointing out with his finger several places on the bed-cover, as if on a map, "these three pieces of ground must be bought." Then he fell asleep again. But presently he awoke again. "Did you make a note of it? These three pieces of ground!"

Towards the morning he was in a still more nervous condition. They woke me up at 5 o'clock. I had lain down in my clothes on the lounge; I hastened to Herzl's bedside. I found him much worse. Pneumonia had settled on the left lung, with his heart too weak to meet the increasing pressure of circulation. I gave him a stimulant, which I repeated in various forms, several times during the day. When his condition became worse and the heart weaker, Reich wired Drs. Kokesch and Kahn

to come. Marmorek and Kremenezsky were already in Edlach.

In the meantime Dr. Singer came and prescribed a whole arsenal of preventatives. Towards noon there was an improvement and I undertook to lead the mother, who had arrived in the meantime, to the patient's bedside. An unforgettable scene took place before my eyes. Herzl, whom a few minutes before, I had left bent and broken down, not being able to catch his breath, the same Herzl was sitting upright in his bed with wide open eyes, and stretching his hands out to his mother, he said: "It is nice, dear Mother, that you're here already. You look well. I don't look so well, but that will pass soon!" The mother, although deeply affected by the sight of her suffering son, held herself firm, let him kiss her, and kissed him herself cordially. She gave him hope and when the two younger children, Hans and Trude, came in (their older sister, Pauline, had already been for several weeks in Edlach) and greeted their father with kisses, and were tenderly kissed by him, he was almost gay. After a talk of about five minutes, he turned to his mother and said: "Well, my dear ones, you saw me, and I saw you; now go back."

Barely had his mother and the children departed before he collapsed. After a spell he revived and for a short time it seemed as though his marvellous energy would win this battle.

At half-past four five of us were assembled at his bedside, Mrs. Herzl having gone out of the room to attend to her children. One of his visitors told some jokes and Herzl joined in with a word or two. At length he asked them all to retire. Oscar Marmorek was the last to go. He gave Marmorek his hand and said: "I

know you are my true friend." I remained behind with the nurse. Barely had I closed the door on the departing callers before Herzl called to me, "Please give me the glass." I gave it to him. After a while he said, "Take it. I have finished." I suggested he should try to sleep. He answered: "Yes, that would be good," and he turned on his right side with his back to me. I felt worried and turned round to prepare my hypodermic syringe. Then I heard a deep sigh. I strode towards him and saw Herzl's head sink on his breast. I sent the nurse to fetch Dr. Singer. He came, we injected and gave heart massage. But it was all too late. I could only render him the last service. I closed his eyes.

At five o'clock Sunday, July 3, 1904, the Jewish people lost its great son. At the bedside stood the four members of the Actions Comite beside the stricken family. I, however, slipped into the garden and wept and wept.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE MAN AND HIS FAME.

Silent Tribute of the multitude—His position as writer—His personality—The sources of his strength—His clear aims—Successor of Ezra and Simon the Maccabee—His epitaph.

I WISH to be buried in the same burying place as my father and there to rest till the Jewish people shall carry my remains to Palestine," so he wrote in his will in which he directed that he was to have a funeral of the poorest class, no eulogy at the graveside and no flowers. His remains were removed from Edlach and brought to Payerbach and thence to Vienna. His wishes were respected. Thousands of weeping Jews met the plain coffin at the South Station in Vienna and escorted it silently to his home, 29 Haezinger Gasse. There the Zionist student corps, "his boys," bore Theodor Herzl to his study and draping the coffin with the Zionist flag that had been saluted by the Swiss students in Basle in 1898, stood on guard, by organized watches, day and night, till the forenoon of Thursday, July 7. Thousands sorrowfully passed through that room. Beside the coffin stood the customary candles. Near the head was a small cabinet with a Hebrew inscription, "To the Great Leader, Theodor Herzl. Presented by the Jews of Vilna." In it was the Scroll of the Law which he had embraced in Vilna less than a year before. It was the gift of his people and he treasured it proudly. This and an eight-branched Menorah were the only ornaments in the death chamber.

"His death," writes one of his humble Viennese followers, "was unanticipated. The information that his malady had taken a serious turn shocked us in the Zionist office. There were rumors that angina pectoris had suddenly affected our leader. So on Friday, July 1st, a number of students, including myself, went to Edlach. Arriving at the sanatorium, we were admitted two by two. Herzl was resting, high-pillowed in his bed, near an open window. His face was pale and drawn. The physician and nurse forbade his speaking. He recognized us by a gentle nod. We withdrew and remained in Edlach over Saturday, but were not re-admitted to his room. We returned to duty in the Zionist office on Sunday, the 3rd. His serious condition had by this time become known. Phones rang endlessly and the streets became jammed with enquirers. When the sad news of his death was given out shortly after five o'clock an unforgettable scene of men and women weeping occurred. . . .

"Six students carried the casket from the south station on Monday, July 4th, to his home under threatening skies. We marched for fully three hours, with thousands of mourners trudging behind us."¹

He was buried in accordance with strict orthodox rites. At his bier two worlds, that in his life had kept apart, met. The Austro-German literary world, gathered with the representatives of Jewry. Zionists, grief-stricken, hastened from all parts of Europe to attend the funeral. The open hearse was followed by five hundred carriages.

The cortege passed slowly through the city to the Jewish section of the Doebeling Cemetery. More than

¹From notes by Samuel Epstein of Chicago.

six thousand men and women followed the funeral procession on foot. Messages of condolence from Kings, Statesmen, Ministers, writers and editors had poured into Vienna. The *Neue Freie Presse* alone published columns upon columns of these messages of grief. All the human activities in which this one being had so swiftly and heartily played a part were represented at that open grave. His colleagues of the Vienna Actions Comite lowered the sealed coffin, the students softly heaped on the earth, his mother and his widow fell swooning to the ground. His son Hans recited the Kadish and David Wolffsohn said slowly:

“You willed that at your graveside no addresses be delivered. To us your wish is holy. But we swear to you that we will keep your name sacred and that it will remain unforgotten as long as a single Jew lives on this earth. In these heavily laden hours we recall the oath you took at the Sixth Congress, and we repeat it, ‘If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning.’”

II.

The *Neue Freie Presse* was unstinting in its praise of their chief collaborateur. It recognized the genius of his pencraft, as feuilletonist, Paris correspondent, and dramatist. Other professional critics sought to name his place in the galaxy of German writers. The feuilleton was the Cinderella of literature, as evanescent as the copy of the daily newspaper in which it was published. Herzl had raised it to a fine art. He had etched men and women so clearly, he had written so tenderly of children, he had employed so gallant a humor, he had touched so lightly on so many things that as a stylist he would not be forgotten. The “sweet melancholy” and the grace that dominated his writing made his style.

This judgment of his peers was not misplaced. Four volumes of his fugitive pieces are still in demand, twenty-two years after his demise. Most of his essays were written under pressure and for the hour. Yet hundreds of his sketches are so human and universal that they easily stand the test of time.

His own view of his profession was that a journalist was a man who described the wrongs of today so that they might be righted on the morrow. But he played no such part in Austrian journalism. Instead he displayed in his writings what Alfred Austin described as "opulence of mind" and an encyclopaedic knowledge that often bewilders the reader who nowhere detects the "midnight oil" burned in the effort to obtain the exact knowledge enfolded in a passing line. But the whole course of his professional career was deflected by his Zionism which he once described as "acting upon all of us like the tide on the pebbles strewn on the beach."

But his eulogists saw in Herzl something more than a German Charles Lamb. His gentleness in writing and in conduct set him apart from his fellows. They recalled his enthusiasm and encouragement for young writers and his nobility of person stirred them to reverence. Not one morbid grief-stricken friend but hundreds of pens painted in pastel tints the man they knew, either personally or by his writings. They sought a word that would express him. They admitted that there was a charm in him that defied analysis, a quality that set him apart. They found the word "vornehm," which translated is a compound of superior rank, distinguished and aristocratic, and they voted it banal as applied to him. They merely bowed to a master of a craft that has no exact counterpart in English or American journalism—but which has built

the reputation of the great newspapers of continental Europe. Herzl's contributions to the literary side of Austrian journalism, which has occupied but little attention in this study of his life, were remarkable for number as well as quality. His achievement in that field gave him a definite place in the literary world of Vienna and his light theatrical pieces merely strengthened that position. If as a writer he did not achieve international fame this is probably due to the character of the mediums he employed, the feuilleton in journalism and the satire of modes and manners which are the fabric of German light comedy. Most of his work was too fragile to stand a sea voyage to foreign climes. But the writer outshone his writings. His intimates in their immediate "in memoriam" notices were mystified by his personality. The man Theodor Herzl had towered above his irony, playfulness, humor and wit.

The explanation of the mystery perhaps was in that phase of his personality which one writer described as the "glow of his spirit" and another as the "sheen of his presence." His vigor and strongly marked face caused some men to compare him to Michelangelo's "Moses." Beerbohm Tree tried to borrow Herzl's brooding self-assurance for his characterization and make-up for "Herod" in Stephen Phillips' poetic play, and when he recited the lines, "We will think in marble and dream in gold," he caught something of the man whom he copied. Herzl's large eyes were extremely expressive and penetrative, and when he was roused the pupils dilated to twice their normal size, changing color from brown to a glowing black. His delicate features set off by the black hair, brushed up and back, and by the long, black silken beard, were extremely mobile. There-

fore, no photograph caught more than one expression. The charm in him was distinctly masculine. He was a man's man and very human. He rode a bicycle, enjoyed a good cigar, ate heartily, and was somewhat of an epicure in his taste for good wine, though he drank sparingly.

He often remarked on the dissimilarity in the two profiles of his face; "my right is Aryan, my left Semitic," due to a slight curve of the nostril. All his early photographs were full or three quarter faced, but once he had engaged upon the creation of the Jewish State he compelled every photographer to accept his Semitic profile. This was part of his definite desire to be known under all circumstances as a Jew.

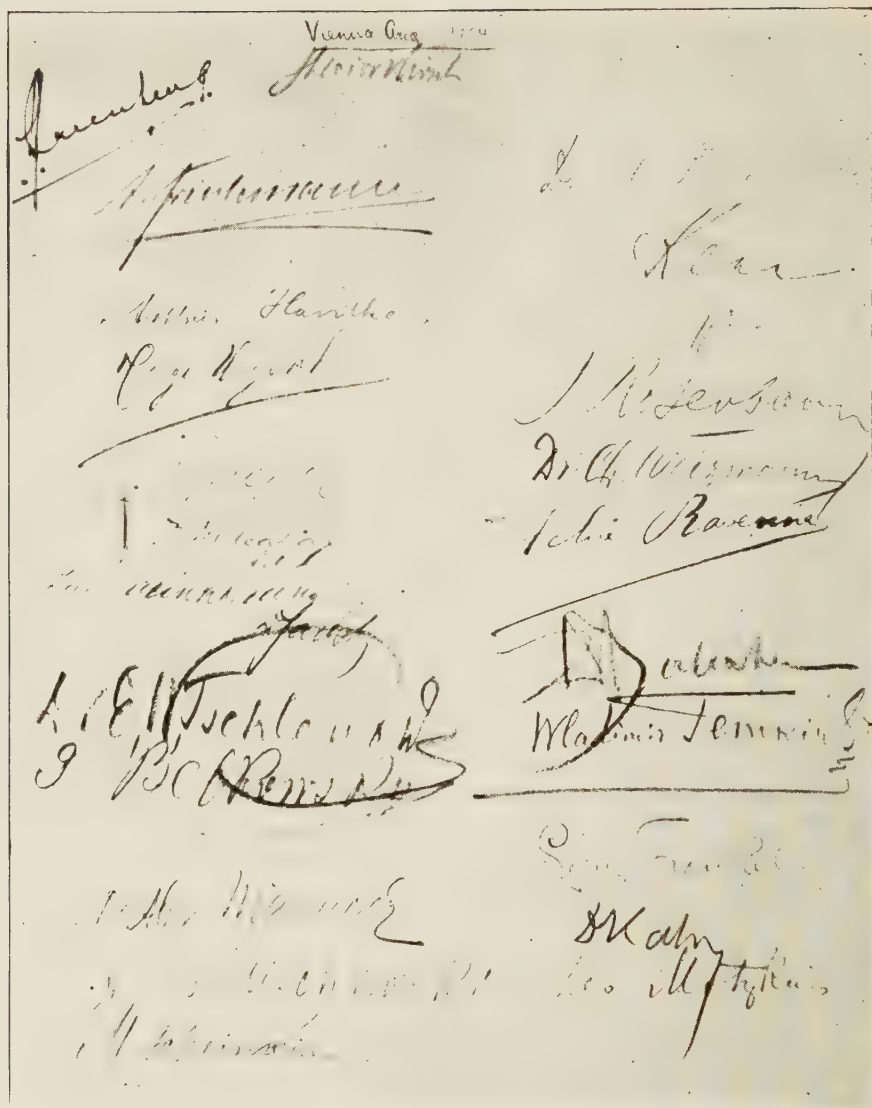
"An Assyrian King and with it a modern gentleman" is one rather apt description of him. The physique was nature's gift and to it was prodigiously showered not only a capacity for royal bearing outwardly, but a nature attuned to gentleness and courtesy. This bearing held even in the straining intimacies of domestic life. He was unquestionably more attached to his parents than to his wife who mentally drew apart from him as his Zionist interests developed. This difference weighed upon him. Now and again he would drop a phrase expressive of this difficulty and the strain it exercised upon him, but for the most part sheltered all such personal problems from the gaze even of his most intimate friends. He had undoubtedly started out as a keen lover of his wife, but his Zionism transferred his emotions from a woman to an ideal. He gave thoughtful consideration, much tenderness, and many presents—but these did not replace the lost lover. His parents, as we have seen, followed him even if they did not understand him. To

them therefore his personal relationship remained uniformly close and wholly intimate.

Every Sunday that he was in Vienna Herzl visited his father's grave. Immediately following his father's death he lunched daily with his mother because, as she would cook well for him, she would not neglect herself.

This tenderness expressed itself in other ways. One day in Basle he and the author were watching the demolition of an old bridge. "Necessary," mused Herzl, "but think of the thousands of heavily burdened feet that during a century wore away those oaken beams." Another day, discussing Bismarck, he said whimsically, "Had I been born a Prussian I suppose I would have been a Junker and an agrarian and a rival of the Iron Chancellor."

He was attracted by men just as he attracted them. His versatility often cumbered conversation, whilst rendering it brilliant. He would smooth the excitement of a committee meeting by telling humorous stories, and he expected a friend to serve as a ready butt for ridicule if circumstances demanded. He enjoyed Nordau's epigrams, Zangwill's bitter wit, and Gaster's poetic flights, was resourceful in debate, but more apt to indulge in a clever retort than in a labored argument. His law studies did not develop "legal mindedness" in him. He took no interest in fine drawn, hair-splitting disquisitions, whether they had their origin in English casuistry or Talmudic law. On the contrary, there was brutal frankness about him and an eagerness for direct approach which was most disconcerting to those who, seeking to influence him, desired to lead up to a subject by graduated steps. In this his writings are thoroughly characteristic of the man. They are without prelude,



AUTOGRAPHS OF GREATER ACTIONS COMITE OF 1904.

Reduced facsimile.

First Column: L. J. Greenberg, A. Friedemann, Arthur Hantke, Hugo Urysohn, S. Monor, Dr. D. Alcalay, D. Jacobson, Dr. E. W. Tschlenow, I. Belkowsky, Dr. Alexander Mamorek, A. Podlischewski, M. Scheinkin.

Second Column: Dr. N. Katzenelsohn, Kann, S. Rosenbaum, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Felice Ravenna, M. Bernstein Cahan, Wladimir Temkin, Louis Frankel, Leo Motzkin.

12/11/1914

12/11/1914

Lippe
S. Barbasch

Dr. H. Rimalovski

M. S. Lorey

Isidore Oppenheim

Isidore

Isidore

Isidore

M. Feldstein

Isidore
Isidore

L. Goldberg, Dr. H. Brucz, Dr. Lippe, S. Barbasch, Dr. H. Rimalovski, Dr. S. Frantz Oppenheim, M. Ussischkin, Dr. Israel Jelsky, M. Fedstein, Isidore Guertohan, Jacob de Haas.

plunging right into the subject, and they take a good deal for granted on the reader's part. Whenever Herzl attempted to play the pedagogue he failed, for he immediately assumed that he was instructing a class in single syllable words. He was at his best when he could safely assume that his auditor was well informed and capable of translating a few sentences into a long range policy.

In society he would flash his witty, polished phrases. From the most interesting Zionist discussion he would turn to a discussion of Mark Twain, whom he had met, or to the mysteries of golf. He had a wonderful capacity for detail and would throw an odd phrase back at one years after its utterance. His power of observation was large; he would note the most trivial things and remember the oldest letters. His visual memory was excellent. Thus in answer to a question whether he had ever met X——, an inconspicuous individual who was boasting of his familiarity with the leader, Herzl wrote "If he is a very thin man, with a grey, ashen skin and a long grey beard, watery eyes, and shiny clothes, then he called on me once and offered some service." And that was X——, one among a hundred callers to whom he listened for five minutes at the time when hundreds of men were coming on strange quests to the new leader.

His firm voice was always modulated. He spoke carefully and slowly and was only really voluble when meditating aloud. In intercourse he was affable, winning, and thoughtful. His decisiveness easily made for that dictatorial quality of which his opponents complained. His immediate associates, indeed, helped to foster any latent tendency in him towards autocracy. They did not always see eye to eye with him. Being men of varied experiences,

and having come to Zionism out of remarkably dissimilar backgrounds, their mutual differences, as well as their differences with Herzl were natural. Every now and then they determined "to put him right" on some policy or the other, but when they approached the question at close range they always decided that his intense honest striving after the main purpose was so strainful that nothing was to be gained by adding to the burdens that he bore. These men were not hero worshippers in any accepted sense. They were officers of a cause, which they believed could only win if the leader, tied hand and foot to his professional duties, and hampered by lack of real means, could hour by hour feel that he had a group of supporters who would almost automatically treat his wishes as commands. Their unbounded devotion made the rapid advance of Zionism possible, because, following his example, they placed the cause in the forefront of their lives, permitting it to dominate all their other interests. Indirectly this is the greatest tribute that was paid to his personal hold on men. One of this group, whose modesty forbids the use of his name, in a letter to the author written only a few months ago, wrote "the important thing is not whether Herzl had confidence in me, but that I had confidence in him."

Leon Kellner discussing Herzl with the author, nearly thirty years ago observed "I regard him as the most successful man I know. When I meet him in the street in Vienna I always join him even if he is going north while I intended going south, for invariably Herzl is going right." The three brothers Marmorek always came to heel at his slightest wish even though they would differ with him bitterly. They were thoroughly absorbed by his Jewish State idea. Kann of the Hague who was

as much assimilated as Herzl struggled manfully with him at the drafting of the prospectus of the Jewish Colonial Trust to combine its financial phraseology with a touch of that mysticism which English non-Jews greatly admired in the semi-religious financial projects so often launched in England. But Herzl who in a remote way had something of the mystic in his make-up declined to permit any compounding of dividends and Bible. He had in the first interview with the author in 1896 touched on that topic. It was the outcropping of traditions associated with his Sephardic ancestry. The author recognized the danger to any Zionist movement in any public allusion to such ideas. The discussion probably did not last a minute, but Herzl did not forget it when he read Kann's draft of the prospectus. Kann yielded. He fought many fights with Herzl and was wholly devoted to him. Wolffsohn "fathered" him and brothered him. Cowen and Greenberg practically ordered their lives to meet his schedules. Of the worship of the Vienna staff this record bears testimony. Dr. A. S. Wolf of St. Louis, Mo., who as a member of the Kadima was one of his earliest lieutenants still speaks of Herzl as an influence that stood apart in all his varied experiences. And there are hundreds of others whose stuttering observation "I knew Herzl" expresses the greatest and noblest incident in their lives.

III.

Herzl towered among the Jews as the creator of the Zionist movement. The *Neue Freie Presse* in its obituary endeavored to explain him, and thus for the first time mentioned his connection with Zionism—a grudging tribute he had longed for all those straining years.

"His early death deeply shocked all his friends, and these included the many thousands who did not merely honor him as a writer and as a man, but also as the leader of the Zionist party which he a few years ago, through his book about the Jewish State, from small beginnings, wrought by his energy into a great movement which absorbed much of his strength, energy and organizing talent. He gave this movement the glow of his spirit and his name was known everywhere as the creator of the Zionist idea." Keeping its distance from the cause it endeavored to explain Herzl's motive: "A vast pity, a love of his fellow creatures was the beginning and the end of it."

That was not Herzl's explanation. To Count Goluchowski, the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, he wrote prior to that final and hopeful interview: "The wish of the Jews to re-establish a Jewish State is at least as respectable as the wish of the Poles to restore Poland." And to the Jews this positive political attitude was new. It lifted him above them all. "Like a drop of primordial life he knew not of his predecessors nor considered successors. His soul recked not with pre-existing limitations. . . . He had faith in the possibility of achievement. Herzl's countenance said in a thousand variations: "With me began this creation."

This unquestionably was his difficulty with the "Lovers of Zion." They harped on their past. It was clearer to them than Herzl's forecast of the future. Ussischkin, whose disagreement remains as profound today as it was in 1896, said at a memorial meeting held in Vienna immediately after the funeral, "Herzl brought to the Jews unity and courage. . . . Those who were before Herzl carried the ideal in their hearts, they only whis-

pered in the synagogues. . . . Herzl brought us courage and taught us to place our request before the whole non-Jewish world." By unity Ussischkin meant that Herzl proposed to employ the means of the West not merely to carry out the ideals that prevailed in Eastern Europe but that the East should control the operation. It is doubtful whether the Lovers of Zion of Eastern Europe whom Ussischkin and the Charkow group represented ever seriously realized the nature of the wide gap that separated them from Herzl. They believed there was only one possible approach to Zionism through their own sentiments, yearnings and aspirations. These emotions, in their experience were born of the dreams and intense Jewish life in Lithuania and other parts of the Russian Pale of Settlement. To them, therefore, Zionism was essentially if not wholly an East European movement, born there, and to be developed by its sponsors. They doubted whether any western Jew could be a Zionist because they believed the sources of his emotions had been frayed by assimilation. They were not vitally interested in the practical emancipation of their fellow Jews. They were much more concerned with doctrinaire nationalism which had no serious political aspect and they feared the adhesion of western Zionists because they assumed that these were actuated by philanthropic motives, distinct from personal nationalistic interest. They had no objection to charity as such. To the contrary, their concept of Jewish life included a large interest in eleemosynary institutions. They had no state concept and no experience that would enable them to distinguish between an aggregation of communal institutions and the functioning of a municipality. The differences over the East African project did compel them in 1904 to

analyze their position in Zionism. They admitted freely that the remedying of the great Jewish economic misfortune was not part of their imagination. One of the group, indeed, maintained that "all proposals to divert immigration were on a par with alms-giving," and they had as little hope of solving the Russian problem as the western philanthropists who were not inspired by the hope of Zion. The deepening of an aspiration, not a desire for decisive action dominated them.

They had evolved a comforting philosophy in which the gradual small colonisation of Palestine was an earnest expression of their idealism. They clashed with the mission theory of Judaism, not because they did not regard themselves as "Chosen," but because it justified the mental servitude of assimilation.

Herzl travelling always by entirely different roads, never really met them. He associated with them in that strange fellowship that politics and organization sometimes enforce, because both he and the Lovers of Zion were enamored of Zion, and because both he and they had been forced into thinking by the havoc wrought by anti-Semitism. Thus a similarity of origin and common interest in a goal grouped together "political" and "practical" Zionists, with the former controlling and the latter chafing, the differences muffled by their common propaganda. Herzl's approach and purpose were clear, definite and concise. He thought about the Jews in economic political terms. The Jewish State—its descriptive title was unimportant—was to be "an attempt at a modern solution of the Jewish Question." His was an intellectual, not an emotional, imagination. He saw masses moving out of grinding poverty caused by anti-Semitic pressure, into economic ease, created by new

political conditions. Since philanthropy had neither the intelligence to undertake the task, nor the resources to accomplish it successfully, the political conditions could only be achieved by the methods of haute finance and mass settlement could be effected only by the investment of capital on sound commercial lines. He began and ended with this triad.

When he spoke of Palestine Herzl's powerful imagination pictured to himself a land of his own creation, a great area from Kantara to Beyrout, from Jaffa to Hamann, or beyond in which historic landmarks would stand out as jewels amid a world evolved by modern skill. The mechanical powers let loose by the ingenuity of nineteenth century inventors were the fulcrum of his lever. If the Suez Canal could be cut to unite the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, then the Nile could be canalized in order to fructify the Desert of Sinai. The Litani River could be induced to join the Kishon and both water the plain of Esdraelon. The Jordan could be raised and its waters irrigate the dry southland. Increase in land values, and the enlargement of human prosperity would recoup the investments required to create these great, shining streams. Nor was this merely wild fantasy. It was a superimposition of possibilities on known facts. He knew much about Palestine. He was always learning, absorbing all the information given him verbally, by men like David Levontin and E. W. Lewin-Epstein and Seidener, who had lived years in the country and who were not apt to draw glowing pictures of their experiences, nor did they think in large dimensions. Herzl assimilated every report and book of reference that would add to his knowledge of the facts.

The author has before him the special summary he

made for Herzl in 1900 of Laurence Oliphant's "Land of Gilead." A note runs: "Mrs. Oliphant was aghast at the proposal 'to line the shores of the Dead Sea with tall chimneys and chemical works,' but the picture 'was enough to make the mouths of many capitalists water, to say nothing of other motives.' " These "tall chimneys and chemical works" loomed large in Herzl's imagination. They linked with the purling waters of his great irrigation system, the modern harbor, and the peaceful picture of industrialised agriculture that would absorb great numbers of Jews. George Bernard Shaw some time in 1901, at Zangwill's instance turned his brilliant mind to a brief study of Zionism. His verdict was that whenever agriculture was properly industrialised the Jews would immediately take to it. Unconsciously he repeated Herzl's key thought as to the possible Jewish relationship to agriculture. So colonisation made only an incidental appeal to him—a small item in the entire program.

In his long-range vision the whole of the Near East was to be revived as a thriving human center and Palestine would be what nature made it, the littoral of a commercialised, industrialised Asia Minor. He saw himself as the chief of a great construction company surrounded by competent engineers, making over an old terrain and drawing from it the economic means that would sustain the operation. The natural resources of the area were not unknown. Its exploitation fitted into his project as the absorber of human labor. To him the Ghetto was a reality artificially created by slow process of law; if the Jews had been able to survive these grinding experiences they had the strength to create a state which would in no sense be estranged from normal world

development. The whole idea was outside the domain of charity but well within the scope of Jewish patriotism. His own vigor taught him that people follow an idea. So he raised a flag because to all peoples the flag embodies an idea. His courage stood him in good stead. The great mass of the Jews followed Herzl worshipfully even though the "interpreters of the Jewish soul" controlled the machinery of organization.

His general political premise, the support of the great powers, was, as we have seen, well based. He probably made his own road circuitous by lack of experience, but on the other hand nothing but his own determination and energy could have brought him within seven years to the point he achieved—the support of England, Germany, Russia, Austria and Italy to his project. Few international questions have been "talked out" in less time and Herzl started out on his task without the support of men of real influence in the great world. His real stumbling block was Turkey. But even here as we have seen he was not confronted by a question of principle but checked by a problem of method. All his correspondence with Constantinople assumed he was writing to normal intelligence capable of impersonal discussion while he knew that he was dealing with men who were only interested in their opportunities for plunder. How often he must have sighed as he wrote those letters which he doubted the Sultan would read, or reading some dubious translation, would comprehend. He played chess against Yildiz Kiosk which played some other game of its own contriving with daily new improvised rules. Hence and it is part of Herzl's record he attempted to use diplomatic force, and the artifice of the East African project to bring the Sultan to an understanding. Few

dared so much and progressed so far. None of all this was apparent during his life. He demanded confidence in himself and the Jewish masses accorded it to him.

One of his opponents probably came near to explaining the mass feeling towards Herzl: "He came, a great hero, a modern Judge in Israel, and his appearance amongst us denotes the dawn of a new clear day after an endless dark night." Nordau risked in Herzl's lifetime an explanation of his hold on the imagination of the Jewish masses. "One morning at breakfast I said to Herzl, 'Were I a believer, and did I ordinarily use mystical phrases, I would say your appearance in these critical days of Jewish history is the work of Providence.'" That dark hour the mass of Jews instinctively grasped. The crisis in Jewish history was very real in 1895 and 1896. The lowest ebb of hope had been reached. For not only were the Jews being harried in Poland, Russia, and Roumania, forcing them to migrate, but their immediate west was overtly, publicly, demonstratively if not violently anti-Semitic. The masses had to look across Europe to the unknown New World for refuge, and even there the gates were no longer freely open. It was the hour for a man who would see the whole panorama of suffering and offer a challenging hope. There was therefore in his call to action a shining splendor that readily penetrated the Ghetto mists if it did not add to the illumination in centers acclimated to the diffused light of personal security. It was, perhaps, characteristic that a considerable number of his first supporters everywhere were physicians. They accepted his diagnosis of the ailments of the Jewish body politic. And because his analysis rang true and dealt with details with which they were familiar they accepted his

cure, which appealed to them because it was radical and thorough. Another professional group, journalists, dealt quite differently with him. They were more interested in the human phenomenon. How came a Theodor Herzl to exist? He was so rare a manifestation in Jewish life that he constituted a problem within the Jewish Problem. The Jewish intellectuals in their endeavors to explain the "mystery" of Herzl were divided. To some he was the "concrete Jew, the living symbol of our once firm past, our wavering wide and distant future." But others maintained that he was in no sense a Jew and that the masses, by some strange and unaccountable freak, accepted him in a messianic spirit. "His presence rather than his utterance conveyed the hope of better days." But there was no "mystery," except in the unusual circumstance that the man who restored an historic hope physically embodied the mass conception of the Jewish knight-errant and leader.

In the East African contest, his one real trial of strength within the organization, it was evident that over ninety percent of the Zionists were ready to follow Herzl and rejected those who presumed to understand the masses better, claimed to be of them and who had reason to assume that they understood all the inwardness of Jewish existence. The masses paid no heed to the theory that he did not comprehend the Jewish spirit. They believed him and not their self-appointed interpreters. This, however, calls for no esoteric explanation. Herzl was the first Jew who from a strictly Jewish point of view exhibited a keen interest as well as understanding of the economic suffering of his fellow Jews. Idealism has a great place in Jewish life, but the "bread and butter struggle"—mostly coarse bread without butter,—was

a very real and obvious issue. Philanthropy offered its occasional pittance, the synagogue its religious consolations, the Lovers of Zion, dreams and aspirations. To 1896 only one group of Jews—the Socialists—offered their fellows what looked like a promise of betterment. They poured into open ears a doctrine that related itself to personal human problems. Had these Marxists not accompanied their economic teachings with ruthless embittering antagonism to all Jewish moral, social and spiritual modes they might have captured Eastern Jewry. Upon the shattered, hungered mass came the message of Herzl—economic salvation through the remoulding of concepts that were of the bedrock of Jewish thought. “The people see visions and they dream dreams.” Perhaps not one in ten thousand of those who with glistening eyes beheld him in Vilna understood the play of his imagination, nor could they have explained his economic foundations of a state. But they could understand that they stood in the presence of a born leader, a man who did not flinch to face von Plehve, who did not hesitate to beard the Sultan of Turkey and who by the grace of God was of them, for them, and with them, and who proposed to blot out the memory of Vilna and Kishineff and replace these evil hours with the kingly dream of Zion restored. Had they pondered on the matter instead of viewing this imposing leader as a gift of Providence, they might well have asked themselves who in Israel rose to the height of his shoe straps?

At his passing it became evident that this confidence was not limited to the sweltering mass of suffering East Europeans. Even those who had but little sympathy with his life motive had come to appreciate the force, resourcefulness, earnestness and nobility of Herzl.

The man who ventured to say "Don't call me chief, but obey me," has had no successor. One explanation of this is that by universal acclaim "he took the sting out of the term Jew." His life thus served the Western as well as the Eastern Jews. An anonymous American writer said of him: "He raised the dignity of the Jewish people. A mass of bent-backed, brow-beaten men and women stood erect and demanded recognition from an incredulous world." Such an accomplishment entitled him to be regarded as the "Resh Galuta," "The head of the Exile." Moses Montefiore was so esteemed. It is a title that links with Jerusalem. The exilarchate has long disappeared. But now and then in the long, troubled pages of Jewish history, when someone has stood out as the burden bearer, the watchman, the guardian of the race, this garland woven from the mists of memory is placed on a Jewish brow. It is all that hero worship has to offer "the servant of light."

IV.

The orthodox mass instinct to acclaim Herzl was justified. They understood the "concrete Jew" better than the intellectuals who had absorbed their Slavic environment and found expression for it in program formulation and sentimental mysticism, two creatures born of the German spirit and educational system. By accident of birth Herzl was the "concrete Jew." He was the descendant of the separation enforced by the Spanish Inquisition, which kept alive in these unyielding Jews their racial mysticism. They needed that support because to them the world's hostility was palpable and tangible.

Herzl was born in Hungary, that is, among a race

nationality to whom he obviously did not belong, and which invited nothing but language assimilation from him. One cannot become a Magyar or a Czech by adoption. The distinction between political and racial nationalism has always been understood and appreciated all through Central Europe. Though his mother tongue was Hungarian, the more persuasive parental influence was German. Herzl knew Germans, Czechs, Poles, Croats, but he knew no Austrians. In the welter of Austrian experiences, there was, as Herzl correctly observed to Count Goluchowski, no Austrian nationalism—no Austrian imperial equivalent of what we describe as Americanism. Hence it was not unnatural that those Hungarian Jews who rose to eminence, like Herzl, Nordau, Vambery, and a host of others, were distinctly cosmopolitan. They owed physical but no mental allegiance to the patchwork of Empire which the Hapsburgs built unceasingly and lost in a single coup.

The linguistic demand made upon them in childhood, their Viennese or Germanic education, their tendency to gravitate to Paris and there write in a foreign tongue for the gratification of the whole world, because their interests were universal, not local and personal, set them strangely apart. They observed the world and were not part of it. They could be and were themselves—most of them remained so—artists, idealists, humanitarians. They were Europeans, they could be cosmopolitans, the roots of whose beings clung to no one country, language or group of traditions.

The drum-beat that drowned out Dreyfus' plea of innocence shocked Herzl back to his origins. Jew. He had to slough off very little. The creation, formation, and re-formation of Balkan states were the common-

places of his education and experience. When he thrust aside the tendrils of professional observation and conceived action desirable, simple action became to him possible. He was without the restriction and circumspection of in-grown environment. He was a Jew. But he was unafraid. He had no Ghetto tradition to make him fearful of a great political adventure. In fact, he had for his task one advantage over most men, he had passed judgment on the typical great whom he must encounter. In a comparison between himself and Sabbatai Zevi, the Pseudo-Messiah of the seventeenth century, he wrote: "The difference between Sabbatai Zevi and myself is this: 'He sought to become great in order to meet the great. I on the contrary know the great are small, as small as myself.' "

This estimate of men qualified him to persevere in a path of which he had no experience and for which he had no specific training. He liked chess and his vivid imagination conjured endless combinations on the international chessboard. In a thousand "klausen" (Talmudic study rooms) in Eastern Europe, Jews were playing this same fascinating game, according to their political preferences. They played it amongst themselves, with only the trickle of rumor that reached them through belated local newspapers to guide them. Herzl played that same game, but in deadly earnest, against the whole world for his people.

"In this majestic audacity, more, perhaps, than in any other of his remarkable qualities, lay the chief source of his appeal to the proudest, because the most continuously down-trodden race in the civilized world . . . he was a real statesman. He had the judgment, the resourcefulness, the perseverance, the high imagination,

which are the greatest and the rarest qualities of responsible statesmanship.”¹

V.

Herzl's "pre-existing limitations" were not ignorance of the mentality of the Jewish masses who worshipped him, but a thorough-going misunderstanding of the class from whom he sprang and of those "upper Jews," as he called them, whose aid he needed to finance his diplomacy. Alfred de Rothschild exaggerated when he pronounced Palestine as "too Jewish." Zion had ceased to be part of the vocabulary of Western Jewry. They knew this not until Herzl insistently called on them to remember Zion. They objected to being drawn back to a past difficult to forget and of which they were all too frequently reminded by non-Jews. Culturally they were assimilating and they were anxious to become Englishmen or Germans of the Jewish persuasion. That the road was hard made them only the more eager to tread it. They accepted Heine's "Judaism is a misfortune," and therefore Nordau aptly described them in their Sisyphean efforts at assimilation as the "Maccabeans of Assimilation."

Herzl thought their objection to Palestine was opposition to re-orientalization and fear of Christian denunciation of Jewish possession of the Holy Land. Hence he began with El Arish and ended temporarily in East Africa. But he was careful to note in his letter to Rothschild that he did this because the supporters he needed disliked the Palestinian phase of his program. Narcisse Leven of the Jewish Colonisation Association

¹Alfred A. Zimmern, "Theodor Herzl and the Jewish Renaissance," in *London Outlook*, September 16 and 23, 1905.



HERZL'S TOMBSTONE

was almost the first to try to explain to Herzl that the western Jews had no interest in any serious attempt to solve the Jewish Question. He did not realize that they lacked the prescience that springs from imagination, and that what he held to be simple fundamentals concerned them in no practical sense. He interpreted the position of the leaders of Jewish philanthropy not as a contradiction of his tenets, but as disbelief in the possibility of realization. Hence he hurried incessantly to demonstrate the feasibility of his program. Clarification came late in Herzl's Zionist career. It was only when the President of the Jewish Colonisation Association declined to approve his organization subscribing towards the expense of investigating the possibility of creating a settlement in East Africa as long as the political string of self-government was tied to it that Herzl realized that these Jewish leaders were, if anything, more opposed to a Jewish self-governing community than against Palestine. Had not a single Zionist protested against the East African project it would have ceased to interest Herzl the day he discovered that the philanthropists were opposed to a measure of local autonomy for a few hundred thousand Jews settled in far-away East Africa. For autonomy was the attraction to him in the East African and all other plans. Only by a new political status could the Jews regain their own and the world's self-respect. But the attack on Nordau and the organization struggle started by the Charkow group compelled him to stand by a project he had created in an hour of extreme Jewish distress. Unquestionably he had the stiff-neckedness of the race, and would see his project through.

He who was trying to persuade England to give the

Jews East Africa so that he might exchange it for Palestine; he who put the Jewish need in the forefront and who was forcing the world to pay some of its age-old debt to the Jews did not understand that other Jew who as voluntary guardian of the philanthropic status quo, undertook if possible to destroy whatever measure of hope there was in East Africa by writing: "From the British Imperial point of view the scheme is not less objectionable. The Downing Street idea that this settlement would be a Hebrew Colony is a delusion. It would most certainly be a jargon colony and hence predominantly German. . . . In course of time this might easily become a source of embarrassment to the whole British protectorate just as the influence wielded by the forty-one thousand jargon speaking and Germanophil Jews in Jerusalem has become an embarrassment for Turkey."¹

On that plane there could be no "meeting of the minds." As Herzl told the Royal British Commission on Alien Immigration, "I would be no witness for the crown against my own people."

VI.

His long-sighted persistency of purpose, which made him a Garibaldi without a red shirt following, led him to ride rough-shod over prevailing contrary ideas. "The Mission of Israel," a theological justification of the continuance and widening of the dispersal, he dismissed as presumptuous. He was satisfied that the Jews were no worse than other people. He did not claim that they were better. The idea of creating a spiritual center in Palestine, which was and still is the abiding theory of Kultur Zionism, impressed him not at all. It could not

¹"The Zionist Peril," by Lucien Wolf in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, October 1904. (The article was written the previous May.)

relieve the proletariat of its economic misery in Eastern Europe, nor lessen the weight of the moral pressure of anti-Semitism on Western Europe. These facts were his chief concern

He could idealize in his feuilletons. But at Zion he gazed in a mood of grim realism. He inspired rhapsody but was himself clear, direct, and simple in speech where both Zion and the Jews were concerned. He remained unchanging in the belief that the Jewish question must be solved both in the interest of the Jews and of humanity. Equally firm was he in his conviction that anything less than an attempt at solution was worthless and useless. In that he had no predecessors nor has he had successors. For, unlike those who went before him, he put his ideas into action, and unlike those who have followed him he not only involved his life in his policy but was prepared to be part of the great migrating host who were to settle in the Promised Land. Those who have followed him have been meliorists, unwilling or unable to involve their fate in his crystal clear teaching of liberation for the mass of the Jews. If he does not rank with them in accomplishment, he stands with the great liberators of humanity because he had their frank daring, their courageous spirit, and their complete vision of human enfranchisement and freedom.

He lacked the physique necessary for the pioneer in a sun-drenched desert, but he had the will to suffer the experience and the imagination which, under more favorable circumstances, would have turned El Arish or Palestine into a thriving center of human effort and labor. And it was lack of imagination that after his death sent one group of his followers into the camp of Territorialism and the others back to the small policies of the

"Lovers of Zion," leaving only a few faithful political Zionists to struggle with both. His earnestness inspired confidence in masses as well as men, but with all his energy he could not turn the habits of indecision acquired in centuries of exile into well-timed, impersonal patriotic political action. And, above all, he was the complete active patriot of peaceful effort—the hardest of all human roles. He was too ironic to be a Utopian. But a deep vein of romance and idealism pervaded his statecraft. He felt himself "a cause" rather than an individual, without losing sight of the fact that he, Theodor Herzl, was making Jewish history. His ambition whetted the desire for rapid achievement, but his scepticism held in restraint his personal vanity. If no man is a hero to his valet, no journalist or newspaper correspondent can become a hero in his own eyes, for the profession compels the valet's observation of masses, men, and things. The galling chain that kept Herzl to his desk in the *Neue Freie Presse* served at least to keep his head clear when the incense of adulation was offered him. His own verdict of himself, neither the expression of humility, nor of that conceit which finds gratification in underestimation, was, "I was a good instrument for our cause."

The divine spark in him, commonly wanting in men who attempt either diplomacy or mass organization, has kept his name bright, where the names of others greater in power and in wealth have been hurried into oblivion. His challenge to the world has not gone wholly unanswered even though those who have undertaken to complete what he began think neither in his terms, nor with his understanding and wide visioning imagination. He was exceptional, for among the Jews no other since

the destruction of Jerusalem sought to achieve so great a result and accomplished so much towards his end. In the long page of Jewish history he stands with Ezra and Simon the Maccabee—the two peaceful restorers of the Jewish State. He too turned the tide of Jewish history. If twenty-two years after his death something of what he taught has penetrated every Jew, so that haltingly, doubtfully, lamely, he begins to follow the road Herzl hewed, that is a tribute to the truth of the idea rather than to the man. Ideas are precious and fragile. Men must be steeped to the lips in loyalty to ideas before the ideas can conquer. Until then there will remain that pain and travail in Israel which Herzl sought to end. Not assuage—but end.

The Jews have a gift. They have few heroes but they immortalize them. Herzl stands clearly among the chosen few in four thousand years of history. He saw himself becoming a myth; he is already a very powerful legend. When the obscurity that veils Jewish life ceases; when the Jews take their place amongst the peoples; when Herzl's coffin, like Joseph's, is removed to Palestine, the epitaph that a grateful nation may write upon his tombstone should be as simple as the motive that forced him into nine years of ceaseless toil—"With unfathomable faith he loved his people."

THE END

בְּיָמֵינוּ

HERZL'S HEBREW AUTOGRAPH.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

1860

May 2nd Born Budapest.

1885

Nov. 23rd First play produced New York.

1889

July 25th Married Julia Naschauer.

1891

Oct. Appointed Paris Correspondent, *Neue Freie Presse*.

1894

Oct. 21st Arrest of Captain Alfred Dreyfus.

Nov. 8th Wrote "Das Neue Ghetto."

1895

June 2nd Interviewed Baron de Hirsch on Jewish Question.

July Wrote outline "Jewish State."

Sept. Resettled as Literary Editor in Vienna.

Nov. 24th Discussed Jewish State idea with London Maccabaeans.

1896

Jan. 18th London *Jewish Chronicle* published Foreword to "Jewish State."

Feb. 14th First German edition "Jewish State" published.

April 23rd	First interview with Grand Duke of Baden.
June 17th	First visit to Constantinople.
June 24th	Acclaimed by Bulgarian Jews.
July 13th	Acclaimed leader by London Jewish masses.
July 17th	Baron Edmond de Rothschild rejected his proposals.
August	Audience of Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria.

1897

January 15th	Proposed calling world Zionist Congress.
April	Sent Medical Mission to Turkey.
June 6th	Founded "Die Welt" Weekly.
August 29th	Opened First Zionist Congress in Basle.
December	Wrote "Menorah" essay.

1898

January 1st	Presentation of "Das Neue Ghetto." Delivered first address in Berlin.
August 28th	Opened Second Zionist Congress, Basle.
September	Meets Prince von Eulenberg, von Bulow and Prince Hohenlohe.
October 17th	Audience of German Emperor in Constantinople.

Nov. 2nd	Zionist Delegation received in Jerusalem by German Emperor.
1899	
June 12th	Attended Hague Peace Conference.
August 17th	Opened Third Zionist Congress, Basle.
1900	
March	Jewish Colonial Trust chartered in London.
Aug. 12th	Opened Fourth Zionist Congress, London.
1901	
May 15th	Audience of Sultan Abdul Hamid II in Yildiz Kiosk.
Dec. 29th	Opened Fifth Zionist Congress in Basle.
1902	
Feb. 15th	Called by Sultan to Yildiz Kiosk.
July 5th	Received by Lord Rothschild. Discussed Cyprus and Sinai Peninsula.
July 7th	Appeared as "expert" before British Royal Commission on Alien Immigration.
July 25th	Recalled by Sultan to Yildiz Kiosk.
Oct. 1st	"Altneuland" published.
Oct. 22nd	Received by Joseph Chamberlain, British Colonial Minister and Lord Lansdowne, Foreign Secretary. Discussed Sinai project.

1903

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| April 12th | Discussed El Arish project with Lord Cromer. |
| April 18th | Kishineff Massacre. |
| April 23rd | Again received by Mr. Chamberlain. East Africa mentioned. |
| August 12th | Received by von Plehve and de Witte in St. Petersburg. |
| August 16th | Visits Wilna. |
| August 23rd | Opened Sixth Zionist Congress at Basle. Submitted East African project. |
| Dec. 14th | Defined position of East African project. |

1904

- | | |
|------------|---|
| Jan. 22nd | Received by Cardinal Secretary Merry del Val in Vatican Rome. |
| Jan. 23rd | Audience of King of Italy, Rome. |
| Jan. 24th | Audience of Pope. |
| April 12th | Unity conference held in Vienna. |
| April 30th | Received by Count Goluchowski, Austrian Secretary of Foreign affairs. |
| May 2nd | Break-down; proceeded to Franzenbad to recuperate. |
| June | Proceeded to Edlach to recuperate. |
| July 3rd | Died Edlach, Austria. |

APPENDICES

I.

BARON DE HIRSCH'S MEMORANDUM ON PALESTINEAN COLONISATION

As representing the New York Chovevi Zion, Shovey Zion, and others offering co-operation in the Palestinean work, I met in Paris S. P. Rabinowitz, editor of the *Keneseth Yisroel* and translator of Graetz's history into Hebrew, who was waiting for Baron de Hirsch's answer to a petition presented by the representatives of the Russian Chovevi Zion, which was then at variance with Baron de Rothschild. Rabbi Mohilever and Dr. Hirsch Hildesheimer were the spokesmen of the Chovevi Zion.

"Although pressed by the Russian Chovevi Zion, through Mr. Rabinowitz and Dr. Hildesheimer, to add my voice to their petition, I refused to do so, stating it as my view that the Palestinean cause must stand or fall with Baron Rothschild; and that the Chovevi Zion should, therefore, at all events, co-operate with him, whether with or without Baron de Hirsch. I did, however, assist in aiding the London and Parisian Chovevi Zion in bringing about at that time an entente between Barons de Hirsch and Rothschild; the result of this, I believe at least in part, was that Baron de Hirsch's answer which was, at first, expected to turn out absolutely in the negative, assumed the form given below, from a copy I received from Drs. Sonnenfeld and Schwarzfeld, Baron de Hirsch's General Agent and Secretary, respectively.

"On the strength of this document, a conference was convened in Paris at the office of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, Rue de Trevisé, about the middle of September, 1891, participated in, to the best of my recollection, by Grand Rabbin Zadoc Kahn, M. Erlanger, on the part of Baron de Rothschild, and by M. Isidor Loeb, on the part of Baron de Hirsch, and Rabbi Mohilever, Dr. Hildesheimer, S. P. Rabinowitz, Col. Goldsmid and myself, as representing the Chovevi Zion.

"This conference decided to raise 10,000 francs for the expenses of the Commission referred to in Baron de Hirsch's document. I accompanied Rabbi Mohilever and Dr. Hildesheimer back to London, where we conferred on the matter with the Russo-Jewish Committee at the office of Mr. Samuel Montagu and with Lord Rothschild (who was seen by Rabbi Mohilever and Dr. Hildesheimer). The Russo-Jewish Committee donated two hundred pounds sterling for the purpose. During my first stay in Palestine (from about the beginning of October to the middle of December, 1891), I received information from Dr. Hildesheimer that the 10,000 francs were fast materializing. I also undertook to have duly contributed the sum of \$2,000, then deposited by the New York Chovevi Zion, with Baron de Rothschild.

"On my return to Paris, at the end of December, 1891, I was informed by M. Erlanger that the matter had been wholly dropped. The reason of the breakdown, as far as I could ascertain, was a purely personal one between the two barons."

(Signed) ADAM ROSENBERG.

The document reads:

MEMORANDUM

Concerning the project of Russian Emigration and the creation of a (Agra) Farmers' Trust Bank in Asiatic Turkey.

I have taken note of the minutes of the meeting held at Paris, July 29, 1891, and composed:

On the one part of several members of the Central Committee of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, with Mons. Zadoc Kahn, Grand Rabbin of France, as their spokesman, and on the other part by delegates of Russian Societies in favor of Palestinean Colonization.

These latter proposed to and, in fact, did obtain from the Alliance its approbation and its moral support in favor of a project having as its object:

(a) The creation of Russo-Jewish colonies in Asiatic Turkey, particularly in Syria and Palestine.

(b) The establishment of a Farmers' Trust Bank in order to facilitate such colonization by all available means.

I have been called upon at Paris by several of the delegates of the Russian Societies who orally put before me their idea and their project; they have, besides, so as to gain my assent and support, addressed to me a letter accompanied by a memorandum, setting forth the plan of the enterprises projected. I have taken cognizance thereof.

On the occasion of their call, I explained to the delegates the reasons why it is not possible for me to share their point of view, or to approve without reservation, the project of colonization in Asiatic Turkey. They do not ignore that, if they wish to follow my advice, they ought partly to modify the standpoint hitherto taken by them exclusively, namely, that of religious memories and historical traditions. However grand and honorable these traditions may be, they do not constitute a sufficiently solid basis wherewith to secure the immigrants in their new fatherland against new vicissitudes and new misfortunes. The delegated gentlemen know that I think it to be the duty of all who have in view the real welfare of our co-religionists only to entertain the project of colonization in Asiatic Turkey with the express proviso of a provisional and very careful investigation of which I shall speak later. After having expressed to them my opinion I added that I am quite disposed, in order to prove to them my great desire to be helpful to them, to assist them in the negotiations to be undertaken at Constantinople, adding to theirs delegates of my own choice, who are to enter on the spot in an investigation of the localities more seriously to be considered for an eventual choice, as well as to obtain of the Turkish government the best possible terms.

One cannot, indeed, start colonizing haphazardly, and the movement should be preceded by a preliminary serious and careful investigation.

First of all, then, a commission should be appointed, composed of experts, three or five for example; their mission would be, in the first place, to choose those localities and lands most suitable for colonization purposes, next to put themselves in touch with the authorities in order to acquire the selected lands on the best possible terms. Surely, if the principle of coloni-

zation in Asiatic Turkey be granted, that should be the way to go about it; only thus will those charged with the selection of the lands and wishing to assume the responsibility of this work, have the opportunity to inform themselves exactly by personal investigation of the means whereby they subsequently can conduct the negotiations with a full knowledge of the subject.

This provisional investigation, urgently needed as it is insofar as colonization, pure and simple, is concerned, is not less so as regards the establishment of a Farmers' Bank.

According to the project submitted to me by the Russian delegates, this Bank should serve:

1. To advance interest bearing loans on good security in form of mortgages, to wit:

- (a) To new colonists whose own means are insufficient to provide for cultivating their lands, planting and sowing, and such other farm work as is necessary up to the time of harvesting or reaping;
 - (b) To the already installed colonists to aid them in improving and enlarging their lands.

2. To provide a shelter and living for the destitute that will seek employment as farm laborers in the colonies or on the private farms.

3. To enable the purchase of lands in Asiatic Turkey on the part of Jewish colonists coming from Russia.

4. To direct the hitherto so ill-regulated and planless emigration movement towards the latter country in a safe and systematic manner.

This program is excellent in theory, but, before deciding upon the creation of such an institution and fixing a priori its different departmental functions, it will be very necessary to know whether the organic conditions of that colonization work necessitates so extensive a program.

It should first be known what will be the area and consequently the importance of the lands to be acquired; before all, it should be ascertained whether it is not possible by means of an understanding with the government, to obtain lands for cultivation through concessions without payment of a purchase price.

If this latter alternative should eventuate, a Farmers' Trust Bank would certainly lose much of its interest.

In these circumstances, and until these preliminary questions have been settled satisfactorily, it appears premature to discuss the subject of a Farmers' Trust Bank, and especially, to follow the Russian delegates into the details of its functional organization. The above suffices to demonstrate the necessity of a serious preliminary investigation of the project of colonization in Asiatic Turkey. It may be well for me briefly to point out, in the following, the chief reasons that have convinced me that to be sure of success, colonization ought to be tried, in the first place, in the new world, and, especially, in the Argentine Republic.

And, first, from the agricultural viewpoint and that of economic life, the superiority of this latter country may be thus shown. No one is unaware that agriculture in Turkey does not prosper. The causes are known.

In the Argentine Republic, on the contrary, the soil is of a proverbial fertility; the climate is excellent; thanks to the financial crisis, at present prevalent in that country, one could buy there considerable lands at remunerative prices. The Argentine Republic is the true land of the future; there thousands of millions have hitherto been spent for railway constructions, river enlargements, harbor works; all that has been done at large cost and all this exists; the new colonists will profit thereby under exceptionally advantageous conditions.

Aside from the agricultural and economic status, the political social life aspect of the colonies in Argentine, I maintain, offers the Jews a point of concentration which they will hardly find elsewhere. The area of this country is nine times that of France, while its population does not reach the figure of four millions. Consequently there is room and a future for an unlimited number of Jews.

From the moment that Jews emigrate, it should be done with the view, not of gaining only a few years of tranquillity and respite, but with the firm purpose of securing for their posterity rest and stability in the future. Are they sure those that propose to direct the Russian emigrants towards Asiatic

Turkey, that these very ones will see any useful result from their labors, and their efforts crowned with success? Are they not afraid to expose them once more to collisions, soon or late, with their present persecutors, the Russians? Have they considered that they thus tend to disperse the emigration movement, instead of concentrating?

The central idea, then, the principal whence I believe the work of emigration ought to start, is as much as possible concentration. But, as I have said at the start, if the deputation of the Russian Societies persist in their project, I am quite disposed to place at their disposal both my influence and my active co-operation with the Imperial Ottoman government.

I merely feel bound to demonstrate to them the necessity of having their project preceded by a preliminary careful investigation and the superiority of colonization in the Argentine Republic above all other hitherto proposed systems.

This preliminary investigation is for me a question of so high importance that it outweighs all others; it is, moreover, an absolute condition of my prospective intervention, I must be sure of it.

Since this note has been drawn up, I was visited by M. J. Navon, who, as you know, has had relations with M. Erlanger of the Alliance on the subject of immigration into Asiatic Turkey. I have had a long talk with him and I am well convinced, although he is ostensibly very enthusiastic about the immigration into Asiatic Turkey, that at bottom he would not hesitate to give the preference to the Argentine Republic, had he not beforehand embarked upon the other project. The conversation I had with M. Navon is summed up as follows:

I have made him understand the danger entailed in conducting haphazardly the immigration movement into Asiatic Turkey, as well as to treat at random with the government, without having before investigated, in the most careful manner and on the spot, the localities eventually most suitable for colonization. M. Navon believes and, it appears to me rightly so, that, provided Palestine be waived, the Turkish government will accept a limited number of Jewish immigrants and furnish them gratuitously, or nearly so, the necessary lands. I for my

part would prefer to have these lands acquired for private ownership.

To resume, M. Navon understands the absolute necessity for the sending of a commission of three to five members who shall be charged with thoroughly investigating the question of the lands to be selected and asked of the Turkish government.

These delegates should act as much in the name of the Alliance as in my own name. M. Navon preferred that it be in my name especially. I admit I feel some hesitation to present the matter as coming largely from me, for the reasons above set forth; nevertheless, I shall do my share, if such become indispensable, not wishing to spare, as I have said, neither my influence nor my active co-operation. These delegates will have to place themselves in touch with the persons competent to select the proper lands for colonization. They will have to visit these lands, inspect them with care, examine also which is the best organization to be given to the immigration, in a word, draw up a veritable plan of campaign, as I have done for the immigration to the Argentine Republic through the labors of Dr. Loewenthal. Their plan once fixed, they will, lastly, have to negotiate with the Turkish government, in order to fix the terms of purchase, those of duration, taxation, etc.

This most highly important investigation ought to be made in an extremely conscientious manner. The delegates and the members of the Central Committee of the Alliance who have signed the minutes of the meeting of July 29, 1891, will now have to make their choice, in constituting this commission, of truly capable men, well posted on the matters that they will have to examine, and proof against the intrigues by which they will not fail to be surrounded. As to the delegates to be chosen by me, I reserve it to myself to appoint them; after I shall have been informed of the delegates chosen by the Alliance and by the Russian Societies I shall act thereon.

I shall furnish these delegates the necessary instructions and references.

MAURICE DE HIRSCH.

Carlsbad, August, 1891.

With reference to this document, the author has received the following statement from M. Bigard, the Secretary of the Alliance Israelite Universelle, under date of December 21, 1926:

On July 29, 1891, a meeting was held in Paris for the purpose of discussing questions of emigration at which meeting there were present besides several members of the Central Committee of the Alliance Israelite, Dr. Mohilever of Bialystok and Dr. Hildesheimer of Berlin. Baron de Hirsch was at Carlsbad at the time. The suggestions made at the meeting were submitted to him; the delegation had requested especially the organization of a movement of Russian emigration towards Asia Minor, after the sending of a commission of experts. Baron de Hirsch set forth in a detailed note the reasons why Turkey in Asia and especially Palestine seemed to him to be unadvisable as lands for emigration. He added that if they persisted in the project it would be requisite, and this absolutely, to have it preceded by a thorough preliminary study. In a letter which he addressed on August 3, 1891, to the German Central Committee for Russian Jews in Berlin, he declared on the other hand:

"I point out the danger there is in sending emigrants into Asia and Turkey; I know that land better than anybody, and better than anybody also I am in a position to judge of the misery and deceptions which await the colonists who would be sent there haphazardly."

The project, moreover, had no further sequel.

II.

SIR SAMUEL MONTAGU'S PALESTINIAN PROJECT

In 1892, Sir Samuel Montagu, assisted by the Rev. S. Singer, convened a mass meeting at the Great Assembly Hall, in the East End of London, for the purpose of petitioning the Sultan of Turkey in favor of Jewish settlement in Palestine.

The plan reads:

Chovevi Zion Programme of Practical Work Introductory Remarks

Although the object of this Society is, among others, declared to be the colonization of Palestine by Jews, it must be very clearly understood that it is not the object of the Society to discourage the colonization, by the Jews, of any other country.

On the contrary. It was found by the undersigned that the tendency of Polish and Russian Jews toward the Holy Land was great, and their anxiety to return there overwhelming; that unless some active steps were taken by men able to influence the masses, a wholesale rush to Palestine would probably ensue, with the inevitable result of frightful distress, and possibly famine and disease, among the immigrants. It would have been impolitic and impossible to put an entire stop to this movement. It was at once felt that it would be far more beneficial and much more likely to conduce to the ultimate prosperity of the exiles, if the tide were guided into proper channels, rather than a hopeless effort made to stop it altogether. But, while anxious to promote the immigration into Palestine of such Jews as are likely to prove satisfactory colonists, and

not to become a permanent burden on the European portion of the community, the committee appointed to conduct the affairs of Chovevi Zion ("The Lovers of Zion") feel it necessary at this early stage, once and for all, to point out that they are desirous only to find homes for a portion of the many Jews driven out of Russia, and do not for a moment entertain the absurd idea that such homes can be found in sufficient number in Palestine.

If the Holy Land can, within the next few years, receive from 50,000 to 100,000 Jewish Colonists, it will be as much as they can possibly expect even with pecuniary assistance on a substantial scale. Without such assistance nothing serious can be done. It is unfortunately too probable that the fearful persecutions in Russia will cause many more than the above number to wander forth in search of safety, and Palestine is only one of many places where these unfortunate people may possibly find an ultimate resting place.

Far from wishing to increase the number of those who seek to settle in Palestine, the functions of the Chovevi Zion must be to moderate and diminish them; for if no proper system is adopted for this purpose, and emigration is allowed to flow in any direction selected by the people, the Holy Land will, undoubtedly, be the goal of so large a number of the refugees as to become, within a very few years, a land swarming with a starving and miserable population. It is to avoid such an evil, which must injure the Jewish cause all over the world, and also prove a frightful source of expense to all charitable persons in the West, that the committee of the Chovevi Zion have endeavored to put their proposals in a practical form.

The rules of the society have been framed to prevent irresponsible schemes for emigration, and to subject all the members to the control of the chiefs. Hence the greater the number of the Chovevi Zion, the greater will be the control over the mass of refugees which can be exercised by this society. But, unless something practical is soon effected, unless at any rate, some few persons are enabled to settle and work in the Holy Land under the auspices of the society, the power of the chiefs must necessarily decline, and the discipline that they have hith-

erto been able to maintain will be liable to fall to pieces at any moment. It is therefore urgently necessary to do something, and to do that speedily. A general appeal for funds, without which nothing can be done, has been suggested; but it is felt that before the committee can expect large sums to be contributed by those who wish to benefit the persecuted Russian Jews, some practical plan should be placed before such of our co-religionists as are able to head the list with substantial sums. It is only fair that those who give their money should know how it will be spent.

A—TRAINING OF PIONEERS

It is first of all proposed that an agricultural college or school be established in England, within easy reach of London, where pioneers of the proposed colonies in Palestine should be trained, prior to their being sent to the Holy Land.

These pioneers will be selected from the Polish and Russian exiles, and will be taught practical work on the farm, where they will have an opportunity of acquiring an elementary knowledge of agriculture, including grazing, feeding of cattle, dairy and poultry farming, while in residence their board will be provided for in accordance with Jewish customs, and the ancient Judean traditions.

The slaughtering of sheep and cattle, and the preparation of meat and other food in conformity with our laws, will be carried on in this training farm, which will send its products to two shops to be established, one in the east and the other in the west of London.

The young men will, after a shorter or longer period, according to their capabilities be drafted off to Palestine, to break up the ground and prepare homes for the married colonists who will follow, and the places of those who have left will be taken by fresh pupils.

It is believed that after the first two years such a farm, with shops for selling the produce, will not only involve no loss, but may yield a substantial profit.

An excellent and convenient locality has been found in Essex, in the valley of the Colne.

B—FIRMAN

A petition has already been presented to His Majesty, the Sultan of Turkey, asking permission to colonize in Palestine. This petition will, it is hoped, result in a firman by which certain lands on the east side of the Jordan and elsewhere, now held by the Crown, will be granted to proper persons as trustees for the intending immigrants.

The committee can state on the authority of Major Condor, L. Oliphant, Canon Tristram and many others that the popular idea that Palestine is a sterile waste is a delusion. There are millions of acres of fertile land, with every variety of climate adapted for every description of crops, available, and the bulk of this is Crown property.

In an annexed map the general position of the lands which in the first instance should be applied for is indicated, and sufficient details on the subject of these lands have been obtained to show that the district selected is thoroughly adapted to the purpose.

The firman should contain the following privileges:

I. Free grant of 250,000 acres of Crown lands according to a more accurate and detailed map to be prepared, and the permission to purchase such private property as may be eligible.

II. Permission to introduce into the country Jews to colonize these lands.

III. The Imperial guarantee that the immigrants shall be permitted to exercise their religion freely, without any interference by any other sect, on the condition, however, that they become Turkish subjects.

IV. Permission to construct within the area specified any works of public utility, such as irrigation works, drainage, roads, railways, etc., without any application to Constantinople for special firmans on each occasion, and subject only to the general laws of the empire.

V. Permission to remit the Imperial taxation (which must not be greater than the tenth part officially levied in other parts of the empire) direct to the Governor-General at Damascus, through the chiefs selected by the colonists themselves, or

through the Society of Chovevi Zion, so that the tax gatherer may not have opportunities of oppressing the individual colonist.

VI. The assurance that the taxation imposed by the Imperial Government shall never be greater than that imposed on other subjects of the Turkish Empire.

VII. Permission to levy local rates or taxes for the purpose of drainage, irrigation, or similar works of public utility, such as may be decided on by the chiefs of the colonists.

VIII. Permission for the colonists to travel freely in every part of the empire in pursuit of their avocations.

IX. The chiefs, and not the individuals, to be responsible for keeping order within the colonies and for the due obedience of Turkish laws.

X. The colonists to be subject to military service when other subjects of His Majesty, the Sultan, not Mussulmans, are also thus subject.

XI. Permission to establish within the colony, schools of all descriptions, hospitals and such public institutions as may be considered necessary by the chiefs, without special firmans for that purpose.

XII. The right of granting and raising loans on mortgages of lands or houses subject only to the taxes and stamp duties in force throughout the empire.

XIII. Permission to establish factories, local banks, houses of business, manufactories, workshops, etc., without special firmans or concessions, such establishments to be subject only to the same taxation as other establishments of a similar description in other parts of the empire.

XIV. Remission of import duties on articles necessary for agriculture or the construction of public works, or for charitable or hospital purposes, or for education, for a period of seven years. Such articles to be allowed to be landed duty free, provided their destination be the colonies in question.

XV. Permission to erect telegraph connection between the various colonies and existing telegraph stations at the expense of the society, government dispatches to be conveyed over the

line at a reduced tariff and public dispatches at the rate charged throughout the empire.

XVI. Permission to establish posting houses or other convenient stations on roads to be laid out or improved between the port of Haifa and the colonies. Such stations and posting houses to be erected at the expense of the society, and to give such accommodation to the general public as may be required by the general laws of the empire.

It may be found necessary that delegates should proceed to Constantinople, supported by all the influence that can be brought to bear, and supplied with the necessary credits, so as to endeavor to obtain the whole or the greater portion of the conditions above specified, which will be as profitable to the finances of the Turkish Empire itself as it is hoped they will be advantageous to the Jews.

C—FOUNDATION OF THE COLONIES

Next, it is proposed that an expedition be sent out to establish a line of communication from Haifa, which is the nearest port to the land selected, and to prepare some portion of the latter for the reception of the colonists. The distance of the area in question from the port is fifty miles; and the first step must be to open up a safe and fairly good road for communication between the sea and the future colonies; to establish a chief station in the latter and connect this station with the port by telegraph.

The work should, as much as possible, if not entirely, be done by Jews—the pioneers trained at the farm, members of the Society of Chovevi Zion, who will be selected from the unmarried men. As soon as proper stations have been selected and erected, married men, some of whom will also have been trained will, with their families, be chosen to occupy these stations and supply the future colonists with food in accordance with the rules of our religion. Small areas of land may have to be purchased in the vicinity of the stations, so that the station masters themselves, may be able to cultivate them with the assistance of the police and others required as garrison.

Meanwhile, the work of laying out portions of land for immediate colonization and agriculture must proceed from the headquarter station in the future colony itself. For this purpose surveyors, chainmen, etc., who would chiefly be Jewish pupils from the English farm, must be sent out, and the laying out of the land should be followed immediately by the erection of a few suitable dwellings, and the breaking up of so much acreage as is necessary for the immediate wants of those who will occupy them. For the latter purpose Fellaheen labor can be largely obtained on the spot. If this system is continued steadily there will be no difficulty after the first two years, in keeping pace with the growing wants of the colony as the headquarters must fix upon the proper sites for such central buildings as may be necessary, including synagogue, school, butcher's shop and hospital. These will naturally form the centers around which the houses will collect, the American plan being followed as much as possible, viz., to place the actual buildings at such distances from each other as to form scattered villages rather than towns; the various farms and buildings being dotted around a series of centers, at which the public buildings are placed.

The works of irrigation and drainage which may be necessary in addition to the roads will of course depend upon the localities. In some places no money whatever will have to be spent on any of these works; in most, however, a certain number of wells will have to be sunk and pumps erected. In some places there are old irrigation works which have fallen into ruin and which must be restored; in others, ditches and canals for carrying off superfluous water will have to be dug; but on evidence of undoubted authority the fertility of the land, when the excess of water is got rid of in certain portions and the want of water is supplied in others, is such that even portions which now look sterile and unfit to carry crops, will then undoubtedly produce almost every description of crop varying with the height above the sea. Some of the lowlands are almost tropical, while the higher portions of this district will bear the crops grown in temperate climates, and there are many thousands of acres of grassy hills adapted for pasture.

D—EMIGRATION

To conduct this in a satisfactory manner, it will probably be found necessary to establish on one of the islands of the Sea of Marmora, or at some other convenient spot, an office where those who have emigrated from Southern Russia may be sifted and colonists fit for Palestine selected. Similar offices will have to be established in London, Berlin, Cracau, and possibly elsewhere, and these must be in constant correspondence with each other and headquarters, so that on one hand the colonies may not be in want of emigrants, while on the other hand the agencies may not be sending to them more men, or men of a different class, than are required.

Arrangements can be made with Messrs. Cook & Sons to convey and distribute the emigrants; and it may subsequently be found economical to charter one or more steamers which shall each carry a Jewish butcher, doctor, and rabbi, and which shall trade exclusively between the colony and such ports as may at the moment have a sufficient number of persons fit to go to Palestine. The cost of administration and of the transport of emigrants will be considerable, but it is only in this or a similar manner that any control whatever can be exercised over those who wish to return to the Holy Land, and that any success can be expected by its colonization.

Unauthorized emigrants will be refused passages in the steamers, and will not be allowed to enter the colonies. The station masters on the roads will have special instructions not to allow them to proceed, and every effort will be made to check the invasion of the colony by persons of whom there are, unfortunately, many who cannot, or will not work and desire only to live on charity.

E—FINANCIAL

Many of the exiles from Russia bring with them a limited supply of money. While on the one hand it will be desirable to encourage those who have a small capital to become colonists, it will, on the other hand, be necessary to assist many who have no money at all. Such men will, in many cases, be

obliged and expected at first to do nothing but laborer's work. Arrangements must, however, be made by which men in this position may, with industry, secure to themselves small freeholds by payments spread over a series of years; while the colonists who command funds may at once obtain suitable farms by paying a very small installment and being subject to a certain rent which must be calculated on the basis of 5 or 6 per cent of the capital value of the land and house, in addition to a small sum for a sinking fund; so that if their payments are kept up regularly, the land may become their own after a certain number of years.

It is obvious that the society will have to incur heavy expenses under the following heads:

I. Establishment of the training farm and preliminary arrangements.

II. Establishment of offices in various cities and ports in Europe.

III. Establishment of road stations and headquarters of the colonies.

IV. Surveys and police.

V. Transport of emigrants to Palestine.

VI. Construction of houses and breaking up of lands.

VII. Agricultural outlay for implements, seeds, etc.

VIII. Wells, irrigation and other works.

But there is no reason to doubt that, after a comparatively small number of years, the colonies would be self-supporting. There is a large amount of native labor available for the roughest description of work at moderate prices; and as the colonists must not be exclusively paupers, and in fact many of those who go to the Holy Land have some means at their disposal, it is believed that there will be no difficulty, after a few years, in obtaining such an amount of income from rents and other sources of revenue as will in time suffice to cover the annual expenditure.

It must further be remembered that although the first establishment and the transport of emigrants will be very expensive, still the value of the land granted to the society will be very large, and may in time be so valuable as to represent far more

than was expended on the first establishment, and on the transport of emigrants to the country.

There is no reason why separate trading and other companies, for the purpose of promoting business and for the erection of public works, should not be formed under the auspices of the Chovevi Zion, to which the latter may grant some portion of its privileges in certain localities and for certain purposes. For to construct railways or factories, or to establish a line of steamers, would go beyond the scope of the association, which must not and cannot be a commercial speculation. Every legitimate form of agriculture, trade, commerce, and business generally should, however, be encouraged by the association on condition that such private speculations serve to open up the country, and to promote the interests of the Jewish colonists as well as those of the promoters, and are carried on under rules laid down by the association.

The above programme is of course subject to the many alterations which wiser counsels and further experience must inevitably dictate. It presumes only to lay down the general lines of the work of Chovevi Zion. But in conclusion, the undersigned point out that the first and most urgent need, without which nothing can be done, is money. Provided that a reliable guarantee for the safety of life and property can be obtained, I heartily approve of this proposal to colonize Palestine.

SAMUEL MONTAGU.

III.

HERZL'S FIRST PUBLIC ADDRESS

The following is the text of the first public address on Zionism by Theodor Herzl. It was delivered before the London Maccabeans, July 6, 1896, in English:

The Jewish cause has made considerable progress since the last occasion when I had the honour of addressing you. I shall not be able to tell you everything now and here, because it is precisely the most important matters which have occurred that require to be most cautiously handled. I beg of you to pardon my reticence on certain points for the sake of the very cause I have at heart. I think I am justified in regarding as an important step in advance, the fact that the scheme for establishing a Jewish State has been most seriously discussed with me by persons in positions of high standing and authority. This fact may come as a surprise to many of those who, only a few months ago, surveyed me, and what they were pleased to consider my crazy idea, with smiles of exceeding irony. Laughter, cries, insults, perversions, attend every human idea on its painful way. Nor have these been wanting in my case. But our great point is to move onward and ignore them. When I wrote my little book on the Jewish state, I adopted what I believed to be a prudent method of trying to forestall every possible objection to it. Vain efforts! Each argument which I have already tried logically to disprove in my pamphlet was brought forward again, regardless of my anticipatory refutation of it. Note this, gentlemen, my arguments were not contested, they were ignored. Many persons read in a book, not what is in it, but rather what they have themselves inserted. Even such persons as are familiar with its title alone! These have been the most hostile in criticism. The Jewish State! What madness! Or shall we call it folly? Or is it perhaps rather the joke of a humorist, who would make the whole world laugh—at the expense of his own unfortunate nation? There have been

absolutely countless expressions of disapproval. Some of these remarks I have preserved, and one day, should the Jewish State come into existence, they will form a fine memorial of their authors. What gave my philosophy a cheerful tone was its circumstance, that the critics contradicted each other more violently than they contradicted me. My pamphlet and I held, as it were, a middle course. Some declared me to be a foolish optimist, others, a timid pessimist. Now my scheme was a nebulous dream, now, a highly elaborated matter of business. The nations, amongst which we were scattered, would be glad to see us depart, but we would not go. No, said another with equal assurance, we should not be permitted to leave, however willing we might be to do so. As was natural, people occupied themselves also with my person, and it was generally stated that I desired to be either Sovereign or Prime Minister in the Jewish State; another opinion was also prevalent to the effect that I was aiming at a Jewish post abroad, such as, for example, that of Ambassador in Vienna. *On ne peut pas contenter tout le monde et son pere.* But you must not imagine, in consequence of these remarks, that I maintain dogmatically every word set down in my pamphlet. Mine is a political plan, and in politics it is frequently necessary to allow oneself to be guided by utility—of course, only so far as is consistent with the object in view. I have been taught insight into many of my errors. The mere prospect of my scheme advancing on the road to practical realization has necessitated the introduction of many important alterations into it. I desired no more than to offer suggestions as to how that profound and long-born misery of our people might be alleviated. But my mistakes were useful to our cause. Many thoughtful men worked with me in remedying my errors. Some of our best men used word and pen to give the idea of a Jewish State a tangible form, and today this idea travels far over sea and land and here lay the greatest of my errors, the acknowledgment of which fills me with happiness. I spoke at first with hesitation, I said cautiously: "I do not know whether my political pamphlet will not remain a political romance." Then a shout of acclamation rose loudly from every spot where Jews yet suffer. I have never dared hope for

such enthusiasm as awoke, although I am described as an optimist. Innumerable resolutions, passed by societies and assemblies, called upon me to let the deed follow the word. In consequence of this I decided to move onward to action, although I am declared to be a pessimist.

I have carefully collected all these announcements, addresses, resolutions and newspaper reports, and I originally intended to produce them on the first occasion when I spoke in public. But I think this course might appear self-assertive, and might create the impression that I desired to divert to myself what is obviously intended for the cause. I will therefore surrender these papers to the Society of Jews, which I hope now to see formed. They prove with convincing force that the Jewish State is no longer the isolated dream of an individual, but rather shared by innumerable human beings. Today, I know, and tomorrow the world will know, that the Jews wish to have a state wherein they may at last live and thrive as free citizens. Many seem still, confusedly, to be rubbing their eyes and asking whether this is their dream or mine? We have said during so many, many years, "*l'shonoh habooh berusholayim*," and have grown accustomed to look on it merely as a phrase, as a sigh. Now it is suddenly to become at least a possibility. It is as much of a possibility as is our awakening when we are not dead, but merely slumbering. It is as much of a possibility as is the recovery of a sick man whose vitality is unshaken. It is as much of a possibility as is the release of a prisoner upon whom a life-long sentence cannot be passed. The Jews wish to be delivered from the dread of periodically recurring persecutions. For even in most countries where our brethern are not at present in a state of suffering, their happiness is not permanently secured. I can give you many proofs of this assertion.

Every protest uttered against my plan by those who are now comfortably situated, is a proof in itself. For they hold, though erroneously, that my talk of a Jewish State may bring about a withdrawal of the sufferance under which they now live. And the very first anti-Semitic cry to which any individual may give voice, rouses them from their pitiable tranquillity and makes them look around fearfully. Has it begun already? No, no,

I believe rather that in countries where Jews are disliked—and even in others—we shall be given credit for patriotism, if we solve that troublesome old Jewish question at last, if we divert the stream of Jews, and thereby obviate the danger of a revolution beginning with the Jews, and ending no man knows where. I may say that I have been obliged to listen to a great deal, but the idea of founding a Jewish State has certainly not been taken in bad part in non-Jewish quarters. It has, on the contrary, met with sympathy there. The only doubt expressed has been whether the Jews themselves would desire it. It were hardly a matter for surprise if, after all these centuries of persecution, our civic powers had not become somewhat enfeebled. But the purpose aimed at in our emancipation in modern times was to re-establish in us this spirit of citizenship. The evolution of the last twenty years proves however that this emancipation cannot, and will not, lead to assimilation. Every country is clearly able to hold a certain number of Jews, and these are permitted to assimilate there, and to become gradually absorbed. But should this number, which it is impossible to define accurately, be exceeded, then anti-Semitism cries, Stop! I believe that the Jewish State will be particularly useful in those countries which are not at present openly anti-Semitic. Remember, the news that Jews are not ill treated in any locality allures the unfortunate. They immigrate. Alas, if they remain poor, and by their frugality in the requirements of life are charged with lowering the rate of wages—then they are said to ruin the original inhabitants. Alas, too, if the immigrants become prosperous—then they are told they have sucked the blood of the people! Hence we require a home for our poor, a country which shall belong to us by the law of Nations. Smaller nations than ourselves have ventured to claim political proprietorship of a portion of the earth's surface. And because they are bold, because they possessed the spirit of citizenship, they gained what they asked. And our people, famous as it is unfortunate, our people, whose history is written in Holy Scripture, is not to be permitted to pronounce this wish! Cannot the Jewish opponents to the Jewish State understand that the mere expression of this claim gains us the world's respect? We have, at

least an equal right with the others to demand a piece of land as a concrete expression of our national existence. We have won this right through sufferings unexampled in the history of mankind. A stream of blood has followed our march through the centuries. And our agonies would have been meaningless were they not borne in the hope of seeing the revival of a Jewish State. Let us throw our Judaism aside like a tattered old garment, if we do not believe in a Jewish State. "But, all the same, it is a dream impossible to realize!"

Who says so?

Powerful rulers are most seriously occupied with the scheme at this very time in which I am addressing you. What shape will it take? That I do not know. But I am convinced in my inmost soul that it will be realized. The very men who laughed at our enthusiasm yesterday, will tomorrow be ashamed. At the same time, I certainly do not wish to pronounce all opponents of our scheme to be either stupid or malicious. There are, indeed, most excellent men among them, whose services to our poorer brethren I can but admire in gratitude. Unfortunately, they are too—too philanthropic. This sounds paradoxical. We cannot assist a nation philanthropically, but solely and alone politically. These benevolent men dislike the idea of a Jewish State because they fear that the useful work of colonization might be interrupted if leading personages heard that the Jews intended to found a State. I can set the minds of colonizers at rest, for I come from Constantinople. The Sultan is favorably disposed to the Jews. I venture actually to declare that the Jews have at present no more generous-minded friend in the world than His Majesty, the reigning Sultan. It has already become clear that the work of colonization as carried to the present time has suffered no harm at my hands.

I certainly hold colonization to be ineffective, in spite of its benevolence of intention. For the Jewish Question is not solved by the settlement of a few hundred, or even of some thousand, families in Palestine. I believe rather that the position of the settlers will become more insecure the more numerous they grow, so long as they are under no political protection of their own. For they are entirely at the mercy of changing rulers.

One sovereign is gentle, his successor severe; how many times have not the Jews had experience of this? It is no use whatever shutting one's eyes to facts and to their unavoidable consequences, which must be obvious to every man possessing a knowledge of history. The Porte will probably place no fresh obstacles in the way of our present scant colonization of Palestine. I believe, however, that it will absolutely refuse to permit an infiltration of Jews in greater numbers; and it will do this from no feeling of hostility towards them. An infiltration on a great scale could only take place with the ultimate object of creating a State, and if the powers were at all inclined to countenance the establishment of a more or less independent Jewish community, they would certainly not concede a thing of such value to us without due compensation for the privilege. And that is perfectly just, and entirely in accordance with our interests also. We must, and we certainly would, offer great material advantages in return for the legal cession to us of any territory—be it Palestine or be it another; but we must and would, at the same time, take this opportunity of making conditions which would permanently guarantee to us a secure feature for our existence as a nation. The great flaw in the present system of philanthropic colonization is that it makes no provision against a possible change of feeling in the countries now colonized. If we offer a home—be it even a historic one—to people who emigrate on account of persecution, we ought at any rate to be able to assure them that they will never more be persecuted on religious or national grounds. And this is what our political conception of a Jewish State assures to us. It promises nothing else. For there is no quackery about it.

We do not promise the unattainable. The over-burdened, the sick and the poor will exist in the Jewish State as they do elsewhere. But oppression, which makes all suffering more severe, will cease there, and no talent shall perish because it is of Jewish origin. This is what the young generation and the poor among us clearly realize, and for this reason the idea has kindled so great an enthusiasm amongst them. And whoever would truly help our poor and our young generation, must first transform his philanthropic Zionism into a political one. Do

not imagine that I say this with the object of obtaining the guidance of these forces of Judaism also. On the contrary, I earnestly desire to retire from the leadership of a movement which is to be entirely impersonal; pure and strong in itself. I am only a literary man. The idea of a Jewish state came suddenly upon me, and drove me out of my study, and now I am absolutely astonished to hear myself speak at meetings such as these, or to see myself carrying on negotiations with ruling politicians. In the presence of a friend who allowed himself to be interviewed yesterday, I hardly ventured to confess that I actually had intercourse with financiers. I am of opinion that money is either good or evil according to the use we make of it.

A romantic campaign and conquest of the land for our State would certainly be attractive, but no man over twenty years old would consider this course possible. Note, the thing must be done on the basis of reason, with the means at our disposal and within the limits of practical politics. All our best powers must be placed in the service of this great cause, and to bring this about and at the same time to make allowances for all justifiable doubts, I have formulated the program of the Society of Jews, which is now to be founded, in the following way. The Society of Jews will undertake the task of acquiring, by international law, a territory for those Jews who cannot assimilate themselves. I think the greatest patriots in any country may safely subscribe to this program; it is, indeed, hardly necessary to be a Jew to do so. Mr. Holman Hunt is, unless I am mistaken, perfectly willing to subscribe to it. And there is another man who, above all, would have subscribed to it, had he lived to see the extraordinary events of the last few months. During this year of mourning for Baron Hirsch, it is difficult to speak in any Jewish assembly without thinking of him. It is much, indeed enough, to say of any man: he had sympathy with his poor brethren. This may be said of Baron Hirsch, and therefore the recollection of him will never fade from the minds of the Jewish people. He certainly believed that the Jews could be assisted by philanthropic means but his mind was broad enough to grasp the necessity for political Zionism also, had he lived to see that Governments were willing to take seriously

efforts made in that direction. One day this Spring I, with all of you, was startled and deeply shocked at the news of Baron Hirsch's death. That day a curious coincidence occurred. I was called upon to lay the Jewish question before a reigning sovereign, and the same Spring day saw the death of our philanthropist and the birth of our political Zionism. I can at present impart what took place during this audience only to a small circle of trusted friends, because the sovereign to whom I refer, and who grants us his favor and support, is filled with timely apprehension, lest his subjects might mistake his encouragement of the foundation of the Jewish State for an anti-Semitic movement on his part.

Every possible misunderstanding must previously be removed. The whole world must see quite clearly what are our intentions, and though we may handle the whole affair with all the caution necessary to political negotiations, we shall at the same time have nothing to conceal. This luminous and beneficent thought must arise from among our cultivated men, and must make its way to our people, and out amongst all nations. Therefore I am using this opportunity of speaking for you at the Maccabean Club. The object of your Association was to show the world that Jews had other interests beyond those of money-making. We have to destroy so many ancient and hostile legends before people will believe that we are no worse than they are. And in so far as Baron Edmond de Rothschild's Agricultural Colonies are intended to destroy the old legend of the incapacity of Jews for physical labor, we welcome these also with grateful comprehension. Visitors to this year's exhibition in Berlin may see with astonishment, perhaps even with shame, the products of Jewish industry in the colonies. And there is one among those whose name has already begun to become famous, Rishon le Zion! The poor persecuted people who came there are today dwelling in freedom and happiness on a blessed soil which is their own possession. Our poor all over the world talk already of Rishon le Zion in moving words, and with a growing hopefulness. So the land of our Fathers exists in reality. It is not an imaginary country at the bottom of the sea. There are in it people who live and work on happily.

There the old land renews its youth under men's busy hands. It bears flowers once again, and fruits, and perhaps one day, one beautiful day, the land will bear again the prosperity and the honor of the Jews.

IV.

A CONFERENCE WANTED

Every now and then someone sets every mind agog by crying "we're going to have a conference." An American rabbi wants a conference of rabbis to dogmatize Judaism; another, an orthodox minister, desires a synod to settle some *Dinim*. Last year a talkee-talkee gathering was suggested on the lines of the Free Church gatherings, whilst in London conferences on local affairs have been projected for years past. In Germany they do these things quietly and well, and have conferences, and in Austria they have been known to succeed in holding gatherings, but London looks to Paris, and the organizations domiciled in that city work secretly and act effectually always. In fact, there are persistent reasons that point to the necessity of considering afresh the value of the methods hitherto employed to solve the "Jewish Question."

A conference should discuss this issue, before which *Dinim* and ritual matters pale their ineffectual fires. Of the reputed eleven millions of Jews in the world (2,000,000 are not accounted for) there are being persecuted by government or openly by the peoples of the different lands:

In Russia	4,500,000
In Roumania	300,000
In Austria	1,000,000
In Germany	567,000
In France	72,000
In Switzerland (Shechita prohibition) ...	8,000
	6,447,000

To these six and a half millions add those who live under autocratic rule.

Persia	30,000
Russia in Asia.....	47,000
Morocco	100,000
	177,000.

To this we may add Jews living in ignorance, as the Falashas, 150,000; in Turkey and Turkey in Asia, 270,000; in Turkestan, 14,000; in Tripoli, 60,000. This gives a grand total of 7,018,000, who are either directly or indirectly persecuted, or are living in ignorance of true Judaism. Mr. Joseph Jacobs accounts for 9,000,000, of whom seven-ninths are what is known on the stock exchange as below "par."

One million freed Jews dwell in English speaking countries, the other million are to be found in Hungary, Holland, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Greece, the lesser powers, and the principalities.

The Jewish Question, then, is how to obtain freedom, in theory and practice, for 6,600,000 Jews, and how to ameliorate the condition of another 400,000. "The Chosen People," the "People of the Book," and of other exquisite and high-sounding appellatives, really should consider calmly whether or not something should be done for this mass suffering from oppression, fanaticism, barbarism, and ignorance. Mr. Oswald John Simon has offered to preach the mission of the Jews. Who in Israel will preach the mission to Israel?

Weak-kneed meliorists will neither free nor raise this stricken mass; philosophers are apparently above mere human sufferings, and theorists are too intent upon writing "Q. E. D." to their solutions of abstruse problems to do anything.

Enterprise, courage, zeal, careful study, and the implied love of Israel, might discover a Jewish solution of this Jewish question.

What is required is a conference of Jews determined to discover a solution, and having found it, their determinations should carry them to the length of applying it to the case. Here

is a chance for Dr. Herzl and his fellow Zionists. Let them summon men from the four corners of the world to consider the *Aleph* and the *Tau* of the Jewish situation, and let them resolve to apply the remedy forthwith.

A few points such a conference might discuss may be suggested.

1. Is the world position of the Jews such that it is necessary to make a world effort to improve their position?
2. Should not the known Nationalist tendencies of the Jews be utilised to effect such a movement?
3. Should not every Jew be called upon to subscribe to such a movement "according to his means?"
4. Should not advantage be taken of political exigencies to carry out proposals?
5. Should not the movement be organized on co-operative and political lines rather than philanthropic lines?

As every attempt hitherto made to solve the Jewish problem has failed, the holding of a conference on these lines might at least result in something being done.

DAJEM.

Jewish World, Jan. 15, 1897.

V.

HERZL AS EXPERT ON IMMIGRATION

On July 7, 1902, Dr. Herzl appeared as an expert before the British Parliamentary Commission on Alien Immigration, and presented the following address, which was followed by a long cross-examination.

"I am an Austrian subject, and seven years ago, when I was living in Paris, I was so impressed with the state of Jewry throughout Europe, that I turned my attention to the Jewish Question, and published a pamphlet which I called 'A Jewish State.' I may say that it was not my original intention to publish the pamphlet or to take part in a political movement. But, after placing before a number of influential Jews my views upon the Jewish question and, finding that they were utterly oblivious of the danger which I then foresaw—that they could not see the large black cloud gathering in the East—I published the pamphlet, which resulted in the establishment of the Zionist movement. The first Zionist Congress was held at Basle (Switzerland) in 1897, and I was elected President. I have been re-elected to that office at each subsequent Congress. My position as head of the Zionist movement brings me into close touch with Jews living in all countries throughout the world, and I am therefore cognizant of the state of affairs as affecting Jewry both generally and locally. On the whole, I regret to say, the state of Jewry is worse to-day than it was seven years ago when I published my pamphlet. To go no further, there had not then arisen the necessity—actual or supposed—for instituting an Alien Immigration Commission in England. If I may with presumption say so, I foresaw that the Jewish difficulty would arise in this country. In "A Jewish State" (published in 1896) I said:

"The Jewish Question exists wherever Jews live in perceptible numbers. Where it does not exist it is carried by Jews in

the course of their migrations. We naturally move to those places where we are not persecuted, and there our presence produces persecution. This is the case in every country, and will remain so, even in those highly civilized, France itself being no exception, till the Jewish question finds a solution on a political basis. The unfortunate Jews are now carrying anti-Semitism into England; they have already introduced it into America.

"The fact that there is now for the first time since Cromwell a perceptible number of our people in England, is the true cause of this commission being called together. Those who deny this are, I feel quite certain, perfectly sincere. When they cry out about alien immigration, they are quite unconscious of the true cause of their complaint—they feel the pain, and they point to the place which hurts—the cause of the pain is to be found somewhere of which they know nothing. But I think it right to say that it seems to me that the mere establishment of this Commission has created a difficulty, in itself no small one. For, as a result, the Commission must either recommend restrictive legislation or not. If the former, and its recommendations are given effect to by Parliament, then England will break away from the great principle of free asylum to the oppressed, which hitherto has been its glory, although the endeavor to keep out the poor oppressed Jews cannot, I believe be successful. But if restrictive legislation is not recommended, the mere fact of the Commission having sat will give an impetus to immigration to England—it will have formed the additional notification of the desirability of England as a place for emigration to.

"Because I cannot regard the question before the commission as a small one in comparison—a question, for instance, of local housing or local overcrowding. As to these, I know little so far as they affect the districts of the East End of London. The most I know is what I have read of the evidence placed before the Commission. And that evidence tells me quite plainly that questions of overcrowding and of housing are at most incidental, that the forces at work are the identical forces at work against our people elsewhere—the force which I have denominated 'force of common trade jealousy, of inherited

prejudice and of pretended self-defence.' These forces are at work here, and, mask it any way you may choose, the cry for restricting alien immigration arises from the presence here of a perceptible number of Jews, and the desire that that number shall not be perceptibly increased.

"You have had witnesses before you who have explained to you the reasons which induce Jews from Eastern Europe to come to this country and to America. Permit me to say that it is not by any means chiefly material advantages that draw them hither. Moral advantages play the larger part—a desire to live in conditions compatible with human aspirations—a desire for the freedom of life and soul which the Jew cannot, under present conditions, know in Eastern Europe. Whether the immigration is in itself desirable for this country or not is not for me to say. I am, at best, a partial witness, and just because they possess distinct virtues, such as remarkable industry, sobriety and thrift, these immigrants are possibly no more welcome than if they had vices unalloyed. And, so far as Eastern Europe, which because it contains so large a proportion of the whole of Jewry, regulates the whole of Jewry, things, as I have said, are becoming worse and worse, day by day. I need only point to Roumania as a very present instance of the method by which Jews are forced from their homes—even after serving in the army, they are still aliens in the land of their birth. For, the Commission must understand, that Jews, more than other peoples—certainly not less—are attached to their homes. This fact makes their lot the more tragic. In medieval German, the word 'Elend' means both misery and exile, and these two have ever been synonymous for the Jew. So you must not imagine that the Jew has rushed from the land of his birth immediately conditions were made unfavorable for him, and that you here in England have got to the end of the questions. Indeed, I must congratulate this country upon instituting an inquiry into it at what hereafter will, I have not much doubt, be regarded as almost its inception. The perceptible number of Jews of which I have spoken is most likely to increase and to increase from immigration under present circumstances. Because I notice that even Mr.

Arnold White would not try to exclude those immigrants who are victims of persecution. That limitation, if adopted, and it is impossible to think of England doing otherwise, leaves free entry for our people from Eastern Europe. I read the evidence tendered to the Commission by Mr. Llewellyn Smith, in which he stated that as many as 58,000 Jews migrated to the United States last year. The numbers to me are appalling, because I can form an estimate of the misery and the wrong that has driven these people forth from the places in which they were born, always remembering that the self-imposed sentence of exile is not with the Jews as with those of other nationalities, for a term of years, with the Jew it is a life sentence.

That a serious pressure already exists in England, the fact of your Commission sitting is full proof. It matters not whether the pressure that is felt ought to be felt—if it ought not only makes it none the less severe. And from what I am certain that only a big measure will meet what must become a big question. The question will naturally always be a bigger question for Jews than for those among whom they live, however big it may be for the latter. And the solution of the problem is primarily for Jews themselves, others can only help. I see that a proposal to remedy the evil complained of has been made for disseminating or dispersing our people by inducing them to leave the East End of London, and settle in other parts of England. This appears to me at best a most short-sighted means of meeting the trouble. I agree with what Mr. Greenberg has written upon this point in the current number of the "Jewish Year Book," that if today there is an evil in one spot to-morrow, this plan being successful, the evil would be in many spots. But, above all, I object to any tacit arrangement whereby only a certain number of our people and no more—for that is what it comes to—shall live in any given district. That Jews themselves should be devising means for excluding their own people from whole districts is, to my mind, monstrous. In principle they are pursuing the same policy as those who favor a restriction of Alien Immigration. I cannot say I am altogether surprised at the despair of which this is indi-

cative, which at the very outset of the Jewish difficulty here has settled upon the Jewish community in England. I have warned English Jews of their unpreparedness to meet a state of affairs they hoped could never arise in speech after speech which I have made—and, for the matter of that, others of our school of thought have made—in England. What surprises me is the depth of the despair, the extent of unpreparedness, which can propose only the senseless proposal of dissemination as a remedy for the evils which are fast gathering round Jews here in England, as they have gathered around them elsewhere.

The fact is that this scheme is conceived in the same spirit—the same antiquated spirit as what is known as Jewish Charity. Jewish Charity is still run upon lines that in the Middle Ages were ample, but alterations of conditions entirely outgrow it.

In old-fashioned times Jewish Charity in various locations was instituted largely in relieve the needs of those traveling from other localities, who had been rendered paupers by persecution, and the motive spring was, to a considerable extent, the uncertainty as to how soon the charity giver of to-day might become the beggar of to-morrow. There was a kinship in misfortune, if not actual, then prospective. But, in those days the space that had to be traversed by the Wandering Jew was but a few miles—a walking distance perhaps—and the relief required was what was necessary to carry him a short way. To-day, however, the means of communication have outgrown the charitable system, so that London charity, for instance, is responsible for the moving of the Jews who wish to migrate from Russia to America. And, to such a point of perplexity has the old system reached, that it cannot any longer always employ itself to relieve the people. Thus it comes about that money intended to release Jews from their wretched state has been used to send them back into it. This was notably the case with the Roumanian refugees who came to England and found their only reception in the one recipe “Repatriation”—repatriation—to a place where the the “repatriated” will arrive again as aliens. This is what I have meant when I

have said that Jewish charity is bankrupt. Its business is to move Jews from worse to better conditions; when it has to move them from better to worse it has failed and broken down.

Then there is the proposal of assimilation, and of, course, those who put forward assimilation as a solution of the Jewish question do not mean merely an apish assimilation of slavish and often vulgar imitation. They mean, I suppose, assimilation by intermarriage, so that the small stream of our race may be merged and lost in the broad stream of peoples amongst whom they live. Well, as to intermarriage, there are two sides to the question. Suppose the Jew were willing—a very large supposition—how is it to be imagined that people who will not put up with us as neighbors will become allied to us as members of our families? I am, of course, speaking of intermarriage as a world-wide policy, not a few instances here and there, which take place now. So that prior to intermarriage taking place, the whole status of the Jew would have to be different—at least, throughout the world he would have to be regarded with feelings far different from those which are now general. And when that came about—when the world came to appreciate the Jew at his true worth to a sufficient extent as to desire intermarriage with him—then the world would probably recognize his value as a separate entity, and give us our right to exist as a separate people, according us our rightful place among the nations of the world. We should either intermarry before the world was ready for us, and thus court disaster by a revulsion against our entering Gentile circles, or we should do so when the world was ready for us, and then there would be not only no necessity, but we should be destroying a people the world had come to recognize, to respect and to desire to see maintained. I am, you will understand, arguing this matter for the moment on the presumption that our people were willing to intermarry. But there is nothing the great bulk and body of our people hold to more strongly than the sentiment as to marriage. Intermarriage is not regarded with aversion—even by the most orthodox—so long as the person contracting a marriage with a Jew or a Jewess becomes also a Jew or a Jewess.

There remains then the solution I foreshadowed in my pamphlet, "A Jewish State." Naturally what I wrote then I would not entirely write now in the same language or in detail. When I wrote it no Congress of Jews had been held—there have now been five such Congresses. I was writing, therefore, without any of the knowledge I have since obtained from converse with Jews, nor did I then write in any official capacity. But the main principle holds good—the solution of the Jewish difficulty is the recognition of Jews as a people and the finding by them of a legally recognized home, to which Jews in those parts of the world in which they are oppressed would naturally migrate, for they would arrive there as citizens just because they are Jews, and not as aliens. This would mean the diverting of the stream of emigration from this country and from America where so soon as they form a perceptible number they become a trouble and a burden, to a land where the true interest would be served by accommodating as many as possible. Given to Jews there their rightful position as a people, I am convinced they would develop a distinct Jewish cult—national characteristics and national aspirations—which would make for the progress of mankind. I perhaps have no right to direct the attention of the Commission to this branch of the subject, which, it may be, lies outside entirely of the reference for its inquiry. But I feel very strongly that nothing will meet the problem the Commission is called upon to investigate and advise upon, except a diverting of the stream of migration that is bound to go on with increasing force from Eastern Europe. The Jews of Eastern Europe cannot stay where they are—where are they to go? If you find they are not wanted here, then some place must be found to which they can migrate without by that migration raising the problems that confront them here. Those problems will not arise if a home be found them which will be legally recognized as Jewish. And I do submit that, whether the Commission can directly influence that solution of the problem or no, they must not omit to consider it and give it the high value of their opinion. So far as Jews are concerned, I have no hesitation in saying that the solution is practicable and feasible, and is the one above all

others which they would welcome and which would obtain the most earnest co-operation of those whose hopeless misery is the cause of the troubles with which they and you are confronted.

VI.

NORDAU'S APPRECIATION OF HERZL

At the Seventh Zionist Congress on July 27th, 1905, Dr. Max Nordau delivered the following tribute to the memory of his colleague:

"The Zionist Congress meets for the first time without him who created it. The Seventh Congress—the Sabbath Congress—its creator has not survived to behold. This rostrum no longer presents to you the familiar aspect. We miss the tall central figure with the black bearded Assyrian head that drew all eyes. To me, his devoted colleague, from the first hour onward has fallen the melancholy task of dedicating a few memorial words to our departed leader, Dr. Theodor Herzl, from that platform, the erection of which was one of his eternal services. What I personally felt, when he was lost to us, need not be told before all. I will only endeavour to speak of him, as he would like to have been spoken of, without bombast or exaggeration, which would have greatly gone against his grain as the fine stylist, the refined and sober intellect, the artist in subdued semi-tints. I will try to see him and to show him as he may one day appear to the historian, who will judge him coolly on his deeds, uninfluenced by the radiant warmth of his personality.

On July 3rd last year Theodor Herzl closed his eyes for ever. On the day of his death he had exceeded his 44th year by only two months. The loud outburst of dismay, the long paroxysm of grief, which were the thousand-fold echoes of the news of his demise, were the measures of what he was to his people. At thirty-five years of age, quite unknown to the Jewish people, nine years later he had become its pride and its hope. That he was able to attain this place in Jewish thought and feeling is one of the wonders of his wonderful life. He

had waded far in the waters of assimilation, even through deep parts that almost completely immersed him. In the sunniest years of his life he was completely taken up with interests that showed not a spark of Judaism. He devoted himself wholly to artistic labours. He untiringly dedicated all his energies to literary work. He had no other ambition than that of conquering the stage and of establishing himself in the conquered sphere. Nothing drew him in the direction of his real life-work. Nothing attracted his mind to deal with Jewish questions till the day came when the situation of the Jewish people made him powerfully conscious of his own Judaism. In the middle of the nineties he lived in Paris. It was the tragic moment when the French body politic was seized with the Dreyfus disease. The streets began to ring with the cry, "Death to the Jews!" Then Herzl listened. One of the most sensitive parts of his being—his pride—was struck with a rude blow. For Herzl was a proud man—not conceited or vain, but proud. That is to say, he had the assured consciousness of his moral worth, and that self-respect of noble natures which implies that they think lovingly of their fathers. He looked upon his blood as a valued heritage, his descent as a distinction.

This thoroughly refined Jew who, as the representative of the *Neue Freie Presse* in Paris, attended all meetings professionally, visited the Chamber of Deputies, and had every day to read anti-Semitic papers and writings, shuddered when he looked into the abyss of anti-Semitic brutality that gaped before his gaze. He would not tolerate that in him people should abuse his ancestors and revile his descendants. He revolted with all the passion of his strong nature against the infamous liars who gathered him and all Jews in the net of a collective slander to drag him to moral annihilation. And—till then, through inclination and evolution a completely self-reliant, non-gregarious individuality—he at once assumed, in bold defiance, solidarity with his people before the foe who sought to hound Jews, on account of their race, outside the pale of civilization. He reflected on his relations to the Jewish people and on the relation of the Jewish people to other nations, he arrived at the conviction that this relation was intolerable, and,

as he was of a strong and determined character, he at once formed the project of fundamentally changing the condition and the situation of his people, whose fate he was forced to share, and from that time onward freely desired to share. No one, not even he himself, had an inkling of the qualities that he brought to his new task. Herzl really grew with his greater purposes; he grew so mightily that his acquaintances and colleagues could no longer gauge him by the accustomed standard, because he had outgrown their limited measure. The vivacious conversationalist, the genial *raconteur*, the witty and playful comedy-writer, was changed in a night into a statesman of wide vision who boldly and resolutely strode along an almost impassable route towards a lofty goal. Scoffers afterward turned up their noses with the remark that Herzl had not created Zionism, that he had found it ready-made, and had appropriated the work of his fore-runners without even giving them the credit. But I can, from certain knowledge, establish the fact that he knew nothing of any precursors. He discovered Zionism in his heart. He systematically developed it in his mind. It was only years after he had finished that he heard of Pinsker and Moses Hess. They were discoveries that pleased him. But they came too late to teach him. It was once humorously asked what would become of Liszt and Paganini, if they, with their specific genius, had come into the world before the invention of the piano and the violin. Herzl supplies the answer to this question. He was actually a Liszt or Paganini born before the invention of the instrument by which alone his genius could be revealed. Herzl was a born statesman of the first water, without a State, without an organized people, without a single one of those assets with which one can engage in practical politics. His case is not unique. This ancient Jewish people from time to time continues to produce statesmen for whose talents it has no use. Many, nevertheless, create their own sphere of action, but it lies outside Jewry. Think of Disraeli, for whom a Jewish community would have surely been too confined, since the British Empire was hardly extensive enough for him. Herzl—I say it deliberately and with the full consciousness of my desire not to be

led into exaggeration—Herzl had in him the material for another Disraeli. He might have become one, if he had done what Lord Beaconsfield did. But that was not his wish, and he gave himself up to the martyrdom of engaging in extensive political action with empty hands—extensive political action for the Jewish people whose official representatives and spokesmen denied even that it was a people. Herzl set himself deliberately to the task of forging a people out of scattered, weakwilled, aimless, human units, of winning a land for that people, without an army, without a navy, without financial resources, from Governments who only reckon with these factors for gaining concessions. That was an undertaking, from which the boldest would have shrunk.

The opponents of Zionism said it was a completely hopeless undertaking. Herzl was, however, convinced of its feasibility, and was not deterred when others called a Utopia what he conceived to be a necessary and possible work. It would be a great injustice to declare that Herzl was devoid of perspicacity. On the contrary, he had a keen critical insight, and discovered sooner than others the weakness of any plan. If, nevertheless, he undertook, without hesitation, what to others appeared to be impossible to the verge of insanity, this is to be explained by the circumstances of the origin of his mission. When he conceived the idea of showing the Jewish people the way to emancipation from a long-endured degradation, he knew well, apart from his parents, really only one single Jew—himself. Hitherto he had had no relations to the real, living Judaism. This lived in his imagination only in the shape of a Judas Maccabaeus, a Bar Kochba, a Jehuda Halevy, a Spinoza a Heine. The qualities of these men and his own qualities he attributed to all, or most, of his coreligionists. He imagined that all, or very many, Jews were, like himself, resolved to endure degradation no longer, that they had his iron will, his moral earnestness, his ideal enthusiasm, his boundless disinterestedness, his self-sacrificing courage, and he considered these factors were such as a statesman could work with, even though he had no land, no army, no fleet, and no financial resources at his disposal. The tragedy of his life was that he was mis-

taken in this fundamental estimate. His qualities were, perhaps, virtually reproduced in all, or many, Jews, but they remained, at any rate, concealed. My heart bleeds when I follow him on his nine years' pilgrimage of suffering, and see him, surrounded as in a mist in his beautiful confidence in his people, grasp the thorns and nettles of reality with wounded hands. He did not doubt that the rich in money and in mind of his people would feel the same concern over the situation of Jewry, the same longing for a newer, prouder fate as he himself. He wrote his "Judenstaat;" he showed with insight and wise forethought how the exodus of Jews from the lands of persecution could take place with the least harm to them and the countries in which they lived; he had the book translated into several languages and printed at his own expense; he sent copies to the most prominent rabbis, communal workers, and financiers—and waited. The great time for emancipation and regeneration was to begin! Some weeks of high hope and timid expectation ensued, and then he knew! Most of the recipients of his book had not cut it. Others, after reading the first few pages, had angrily thrown it into the waste-paper basket. But some, who had skimmed it through, attacked him in newspapers, pamphlets, and sermons, and called him a second Sabbatai Zevi, if they did not bluntly dub him a cowardly renegade, or abuse him as an anti-Semite. Anyone else, after this first experience, would have had enough; not so Herzl. He staggered, but soon collected himself.

His fruitful brain at once elaborated a new plan. With the financial power, the intellectual strength, the extensive influence of the Jewish upper-class, any, even mediocre, organizer could have realized the aim of the Zionist movement without much difficulty. As this class remained deaf to Herzl's appeal, as it withheld its money from him, used its intellect to mock him, used its influence to hinder him and to bring his endeavours to nought, the struggling middle-classes and the suffering masses should provide him with the means for his epoch-making undertaking. He came forward with a project of the Jewish Colonial Trust, and armed himself with his own disinterestedness and ermine-pure character against the venomous

slanderers who mocked him as a company-promoter, and represented him as having created Zionism merely to enrich himself by means of a Jewish bank. He demanded from the Jewish people fifty million francs, the smallest amount with which one could think of conducting serious financial negotiations with the Turkish Government. He did not receive an eighth of that sum, and it has remained at that for six years. He attempted to forge another, and far weaker, far more modest, tool of emancipation. He initiated the creation of the National Fund which was to amount to £200,000. In five years the half of that sum has not yet been collected. Some could not, others would not give, and, in short, in spite of superhuman efforts, precious little resulted. Wherever he grasped with his hand, he only grasped the air. Wherever he wanted to place his foot, the ground sank beneath him. He built on his people as on solid rock, and his people turned out to be quicksand. I must, hard though it is for me, recall his last disappointment which will live in history to our eternal shame. To the cause which he made his life work, Herzl gave away everything without counting. In his most prosperous years he practically renounced his means of livelihood in order to be able to devote himself entirely to Zionism. With his unique generosity, from the first day to the last, he brought the greatest sacrifices for his ideal. He supplied out of his own pocket the first requirements of the organization, the preliminary salaries of the officials, the expenses of the early journeys for Zionism. He created and maintained for years, with his own money, the necessary official organ of the movement. When he wrote his "Judenstaat" he was a well-to-do, almost wealthy, man. When he died nine years later he left almost nothing beyond his shares in the Jewish Colonial Trust. When his friends reproached him on account of squandering his children's patrimony he would reassure them with the smiling remark, "I have sufficient confidence in my people to believe that they will not let my wife and children starve." The Jewish people has not justified this confidence. For the last year we have humbled ourselves and Herzl's sacred memory in collecting for his family. With

what success? Many tears were shed at his death, many words were spoken in memorial addresses, but up till now the Jewish people has not replaced a third of the fortune which Herzl sacrificed on their behalf, besides nine years' superhuman labour, and besides his life. When he sounded the alarm in the ears of the Jewish people, instead of the anticipated millions, only a little crowd gathered round him. That crowd remained true to him till his last breath. In the course of years it has considerably increased, but even now after nine years' passionate propaganda, it only represents a sixtieth of the whole of Jewry. A sixtieth! And by the toil and sacrifices of this poor, tiny sixtieth, the whole, which, although great and rich, withheld its sympathy and stood apart, was to be emancipated. Herzl refused to perceive the disproportionate relation between the immensity of the task and the resources at his disposal for accomplishing it.

He refused to believe in the permanent indifference of the Jewish people. In his plans and calculations he reckoned the whole of the Jewish people as an asset. His cold-hearted critics regard this as the cause of the failure of his undertakings and of his weakness. We who understood him declare, on the other hand, that therein lay his strength and his greatness. Nothing could shake his belief or his confidence in his people. In the end he purposely shut his eyes to the reality, and in his mind Herzl always saw an ideal people of twelve million Herzls, who had appointed him as its leader. When, with head high, he stood before the greatest rulers of the earth, and spoke to them calmly as to his equals, this was neither presumption nor lack of a sense of proportion, but the working within him of the ruling conviction that twelve million aristocrats stood at his back who had empowered him to represent them, and for the sake of whose dignity there must be no self-disparagement. How well this pride in his constituents could be combined with personal modesty is eloquently demonstrated by the fact that he used to return meekly from an important political interview with a Pope, an Emperor, or King, to his editorial room in Vienna, and faithfully performed his journalistic duties,

often of a tedious routine nature, while in his ears were still ringing the words that he had exchanged with the greatest men of his time on the future of his people, and on the fate of nations and countries. It is apparently the destiny of our people that its Spinozas must always polish lenses, its Cincinnatis always follow the plough—and not even their own. When he set his hand to the making of history it was because he was convinced that twelve million souls—the twelve millions of his imaginary incomparable selection—had the right and the power to make history. This conviction sustained him in spite of all obstacles, he was filled with it when he died, and we have inherited it from him. Herzl was a genius of will-power. His will-power was the greatest element of a great personality. Nothing could wear away his adamant will, nothing could blunt its irresistible edge. This will-power, guided by a lofty faith, an unshakable, almost mystical, sureness of aim, would have moved mountains if he had had time to do it. Death removed him too soon, and, thereby, the Jewish people was deprived of an irreplaceable building-implement for its reconstruction.

His faith, his sureness of aim, his will, inspired him with ever new combinations. If one failed—not through insufficiency or any fault of his—but through want of support, he replaced it by another and the results were always more startling, bolder, cleverer than the preceeding ones. The political conceptions and diplomatic projects that he nurtured in the nine years of his leadership would suffice to assure ten ministers of an ordinary state of immortality. “Yes,” mock his opponents, “we admit that he was a fruitful phantasy.” I reply, however, with Herzl. “If you wish it, it is no phantasy.” Our people has had a Herzl, but Herzl never had a people. That alone does not depreciate him, but it casts a slur upon us. That alone is to blame for the comparatively small practical results of the enormous efforts that cost him his life. All the greater, however, are the moral results. Herzl was a model and an educator. He straightened the back of a broken people. He gave them hope, he showed them means. He sowed far and wide. The seed will sprout, and his people will garner and

harvest. I do not think I can conclude better than by quoting these lines of a memorial verse that I wrote for a composer :

On the hearts of the people, engraven and sealed,

Thy work and thou in every age

Live on ; we guard thy heritage

And faithfully rally to David's proud shield.

In the banner of Zion enfolded thy bier

Will rest in days to come, and we

Will keep thy oath ; and thou wilt see

The fruit of thy planting in fulness appear.

APPENDIX VII.

THEODOR HERZL

FAREWELL, O Prince, farewell, O sorely tried

 You dreamed a dream and you have paid the cost :
To save a people, leaders must be lost ;
 By foes and followers be crucified,
 Yet 'tis your body only that has died.
The noblest soul in Judah is not dust
But fire that works in every vein and must
 Reshape our life, rekindling Israel's pride.

So we behold the captain of our strife
 Triumphant in this moment of eclipse ;
Death has but fixed him to immortal life,
 His flag upheld, the trumpet of his lips,
And while we, weeping rend our garment's hem,
"Next year," we cry, "next year, Jerusalem."

ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

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